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Review



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The Statistical Lie Detector

David Gold

Nursing: Functional Significance

Isidor Thorner

Factors in Adjustment of Aged

Frances G. Scott

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Vol. 20

October 1955

No. 5

Official Journal of the American Sociological Society

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Volume 20 Number 5

Official Journal of the American Sociological Society

DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION RE-EXAMINED

LEIGHTON VAN NORT AND BERTRAM P. KARON

Office of Population Research, Princeton University and Educational Testing Service

The theory of "demographic transition" as formulated by Notestein, Thompson, and others has become widely accepted as a generalization of the historical demographic experience of Western countries which have achieved very low levels of mortality and fertility. In recent years its current usefulness as an analytic tool has been called into question, however, and the future both of countries which have passed through the "demographic revolution" and of those entering the phase of "transitional growth" has been in dispute. A recent article by Hatt, Farr, and Weinstein is of

special interest in this controversy because it represents an all too rare attempt at applying a rigorous test to the transition theory. The present paper will consider in some detail their approach to the problem.

As a preliminary to the test, these writers offer a formulation of the theory, which might be regarded as increasing its specificity and precision, as follows:

That mortality and fertility are so related to urbanization and industrialization that low levels of the vital rates are associated with high levels of modernization; and that high levels of the vital rates are associated with low levels of modernization; and further, that medium levels of modernization will serve to depress mortality more rapidly than fertility. (P. 15.)

For the time being, we shall accept their formulation of the theory, and begin by considering their technique for testing it.

THE HATT-FARR-WEINSTEIN TEST

Hatt, Farr, and Weinstein decided to approach the problem through an inverted factor analysis—the so-called Q-technique. The Q-technique, as developed by Stephenson 4 is analogous to the well known

¹ Frank W. Notestein, "The Economics of Population and Food Supplies," Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference of Agricultural Economists, London: Oxford University Press, 1953, pp. 13-31; and citations given in Paul K. Hatt, Nellie Louise Farr, and Eugene Weinstein, "Types of Population Balance," American Sociological Review, 20 (February, 1955), p. 14 n. See also Kingsley Davis, Human Society, New York: Macmillan, 1949, pp. 595-616; Dudley Kirk, "Dynamics of Human Populations," Eugenics Quarterly, 2 (March, 1955), pp. 18-25.

² See, especially, Joseph S. Davis, "Fifty Million More Americans," Foreign Affairs, 28 (April, 1950), pp. 412-426; "Our Changed Population Outlook and Its Significance," American Economic Review, 42 (June, 1952), pp. 304-325; "Population and Resources," Journal of the American Statistical Association, 45 (September, 1950), pp. 346-349; "The Population Upsurge and the American Economy, 1945-80," Journal of Political Economy, 61 (October, 1953), pp. 369-388; The Population Upsurge in the United States, Stanford: Stanford University [Food Research Institute, War-Peace Pamphlets, No. 12] 1949.

³ Hatt, Farr, and Weinstein, op. cit., pp. 14-21.

⁴ William Stephenson, "The Foundations of Psychometry: Four Factor Systems," Psychometrika, 1 (September, 1936), pp. 195-209; "The Inverted Factor Technique," British Journal of Psychology, 26 (April, 1936), pp. 344-361; The Study of Behavior—Q-Technique and Its Methodology, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953; cf. Raymond B. Cattell, Factor Analysis, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952.

R-technique of ordinary factor analysis. R-technique involves the administration of a battery of tests to a relatively large number of subjects and extracting from the matrix of intercorrelations among tests factors which will account for the common factor variance, i.e. variance due to factors which are involved in more than one test in the battery. These factors are then rotated to an apparently meaningful solution in accordance with some criterion, e.g. "simple structure." The resulting factorial structure may then be validated by further factorial experiments. The factors obtained represent hypothesized "pure traits."

In the case of inverted factor analysis, the Q-technique, a relatively large number of tests are administered to a group of subjects, and the matrix of intercorrelations among subjects used in place of the matrix of test intercorrelations. The resulting factors accounting for the common factor variance among subjects consist of idealized types of subjects rather than traits.⁵

We have found Hatt, Farr, and Weinstein's description of their procedure somewhat unclear, but we believe their procedure to have been as follows. Each of twenty-one countries included in their sample was evaluated in terms of six measures: crude birth rate, gross reproduction rate, crude death rate, female life expectancy at birth, per cent of the gainfully employed male population engaged in agriculture, and per cent of inhabitants residing in cities of 20,000 or over. The values for each measure were then converted to a simple rank order, running from one to twenty-one. The six measures were chosen so as to include two

measures of fertility, two measures of mortality, and two measures of "modernization." The use of one of the two possible measures of each variable to obtain a set of three numbers was termed a "replication." Using all possible sets of three yields eight "replications" for each country. The authors then set up what they call "combinations," which were sets of three numbers, one for each of the three variables, representing ideal types. In each "combination" each variable was given one of three values-high, medium, or low, indicated by the numbers one, eleven. and twenty-one respectively. Three possible values for each variable and three variables produce twenty-seven "combinations."

They describe their procedure as follows:

The scores of the twenty-one countries were placed in rank order on each of the six indices. The conditions of the measure in each replication are defined by the specified level of each variable in the combination. If the level of the variable is stated as high, the country ranked first on the measure of that variable in the replication is defined as most similar; if the stated level is medium, the country with the median (eleventh) rank is most similar; if the level is low, the twentyfirst country is most similar. Depending on the levels of the three variables in a combination, difference scores between the rank of a country and the highest, lowest, or median rank were assigned to that country. Since the focus was upon degree of similarity, this difference was always recorded as positive. Since all possible combinations are used, the direction of difference is accounted for. (Pp. 16-17.)

By this Hatt, Farr, and Weinstein seem to mean that a "combination," which is a set of three numbers, was used with a "replication," also a set of three numbers, to obtain a difference score by subtracting corresponding numbers, giving each of the three differences a positive sign, and summing the three differences. Each of the twenty-seven "combinations" was used in conjunction with each of the eight "replications," yielding 216 scores for each country. These scores were then normalized and correlated by country, and the resultant matrix of intercorrelations factored. Three factors were extracted, and after rotation all three were interpreted as meaningful.

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⁵ Obviously, the same matrix of test scores may often be analyzed either way, and it has been shown by Madow that if the matrix of test scores is doubly centered the Q-technique factors may be rotated to identity with the factors extracted by R-technique. (Cattell, op. cit., p. 98). If the matrix of test scores is not doubly centered, then any differences among the mean scores of subjects across all the tests contribute to the R-technique factor structure, but not to the Q-technique factor structure. Similarly, any differences among the means of the tests across all subjects contribute to the Q-technique factor structure, but not to the R-technique factor structure, but not to the R-technique factor structure.

⁶ The source of their figures is not entirely clear. We have not been able in all cases to match the values in Table 4 (p. 19) of the article against those found in the sources cited on pp. 15–16.

⁷ To

⁸ Ca ⁹ L. Chicago 440–44:

tion of the three, was a bipolar factor running from an ideal type of low vital rates and high modernization on the positive end to an ideal type of low modernization and high vital rates on the negative end. These were interpreted as representing the types of "Incipient Decline" and "High Growth Potential" respectively, essentially confirming the first part of the theory the authors set out to test.

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Two other factors were obtained, described as follows:

Factor II. Here fertility levels are as low as in Factor I (positive) but mortality levels are higher, reaching, however, only medium levels. Modernization is limited, lying between medium and low.

Factor III. This factor is characterized by medium levels on all three variables, although high levels can be reached on one, but only one variable. (P. 18.)

Hatt, Farr, and Weinstein interpreted the fact that they identified from these factors and their rotated loadings seven types of countries ⁷ within their sample of twenty-one countries as indicating that the theory had been in this respect refuted.

APPLICABILITY OF THE Q-TECHNIQUE

These conclusions are, of course, warranted only if the assumptions underlying the techniques of analysis apply. Specifically, (1) it is legitimate to reduce raw data to rank order before testing an hypothesis only if the relevant information is contained in the ranking and not in the absolute differences among observations; (2) the Q-technique is properly applied only if there is a relatively large number of tests being correlated,8 just as ordinary factor analysis, or R-technique, requires a large number of subjects; and (3) in any factor analysis, whether Q- or R-, the tests must be both linearly and experimentally independent if spurious factors are to be avoided.9 These points may be taken up in sequence:

1. Obviously, any hypothesis about the point at which steep declines in vital rates

occur cannot be tested from ranked data since any two monotonic functions of modernization would yield identical rankings irrespective of the location of rapid declines in the two curves. All that the theory, as stated by Hatt, Farr, and Weinstein, can predict about the ranks is that there should be a negative correlation between modernization and vital rates.

2 and 3. However, when only a small number of scores (tests in the case of Q-technique) is employed, the values contained in the matrix of intercorrelations represent sampling error to a very considerable extent. In the present case, for example, a correlation coefficient based on six tests would have to be at least .81 to be significantly different from zero at the five per cent level, and .92 to be significant at the one per cent level; correlation coefficients based on four tests must be at least .95 and .99 to reach these levels of significance. This type of sampling error remains even if there are no errors of observation at all.

Now certainly, 216 observations for each country should satisfy anyone as being a relatively large number of tests. But the twenty-seven "combinations" represent only twenty-seven sets of constants from which each of the eight "replications" have been subtracted to obtain 216 scores. Further, the eight "replications" are themselves only sets of the six original measures taken three at a time. Neither of these maneuvers adds one iota to the relevant information available for analysis.10 Nor are all of the six original measures experimentally independent. The crude birth rate is not independent of the gross reproduction rate, nor is the crude death rate independent of the expectation of life at birth, for although only the crude rates are directly affected by population age distributions, they are primarily determined by the same basic data, i.e. the age-schedules of fertility and mortality which are summarized by the gross reproduction rate and expectation of life at birth.

We are thus left with a maximum of six, or even four, experimentally independent observations used as a basis for 216 apparent observations. The use of dependent measures adds to the common factor space

⁷ Two of the seven strata consist of single countries.

⁸ Cattell, op. cit., p. 91.

⁹ L. L. Thurstone, Multiple Factor Analysis, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947, pp. 440-443.

¹⁰ Ibid.

the specificity, including the errors of observation (systematic error and test unreliability), involved in the basic data, yet does not in any way aid in the determination of the true common factors. Under the conditions outlined, much of the variance in the matrix can be attributed to chance (errors of observation and sampling error of the correlation coefficients), and when more than one factor is extracted it is impossible to determine from the data given whether the factors obtained represent anything more than error variance of one sort or another.

VALIDITY OF THE MEASURES

For the purposes of their test, Hatt, Farr, and Weinstein treated "modernization" as the proportion of the population in cities of 20,000 or over, and the proportion of the gainfully employed male population not engaged in agriculture. A careful reading of the sources cited by these writers yields no such simplistic view of the mechanisms involved. The question of the validity of these measures is therefore pertinent.

An introduction to this aspect of the problem is afforded by one of the more recent statements of a portion of the theory:

The new ideal of the small family arose typically in the urban industrial society. It is impossible to be precise about the various causal factors, but apparently many were important. Urban life stripped the family of many functions of production, consumption, recreation, and education. In factory employment the individual stood on his own accomplishments. [Other factors were] . . . new mobility of young people . . . anonymity of city life . . . new skills . . . new opportunities for individual advancement . . . education and a rational point of view . . . [a rise in] the cost of childbearing . . . [and a decline in] economic contributions by children ... [women's] new independence from household obligations and new economic roles less compatible with child-rearing.

It is evident that urbanization provides no mystical means for the reduction of fertility. The small family ideal and strong motivation for the reduction of births have arisen in a variety of conditions. At present we cannot either list all the factors involved or attach precise weights to the factors we can list. There is, however, good reason to believe that among the important factors are: the growing importance of the individual rather

than the family, and particularly the extended family group; the development of a rational and secular point of view; the growing awareness of the world and of modern techniques through popular education; improved health; and the appearance of alternatives to early marriage and childbearing as a means of livelihood and prestige for women.¹¹

Such formulations of the factors subsumed under "modernization" as the above may be grounds for sympathy with the problem faced by Hatt, Farr, and Weinstein in finding suitable measures of modernization to test the theory, but such causal complexes are common in the social sciences, and the difficulty of obtaining valid measures cannot be resolved by arbitrary selection. The problem faced by these writers points up the serious lack of precision in current statements of the theory, a lack of precision acknowledged by the theory's principal expositors. It may at any rate be suggested that the measures employed in the study under discussion are somewhat questionable, short-hand terms for a whole series of social changes believed to be associated with urbanization and industrialization. Although the problem is complex and difficult, the indices which we require for a careful test of the theory are those of underlying social changes which impinge directly on motiva-

Another point pertaining to validity needs to be raised. The transition theory as it has been developed over the past quarter century is not primarily a static demographic typology. It is a theory of demographic change based on assumptions about social and economic processes. We are not, therefore, primarily concerned with the absolute ranks or even absolute levels of vital rates and of modernization, but with the direction and sequence of changes. The critical "transitional" category of countries is described by Hatt, Farr, and Weinstein as those in which "medium levels of modernization will serve to depress mortality more rapidly than fertility." (Italics ours.) Yet the rates of decline are not tested by these writers, although they seem to recognize implicitly that the theory posits an initial divergence of mortality and fertility rates ency As r appl cedu vide lead-Si dling

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¹¹ Notestein, op. cit., pp. 16 and 18. Italics supplied.

rates, followed after a time lag by a tendency toward reconvergence at a lower level. As noted under point (1) in the section on applicability of the Q-technique, a procedure depending on rank order cannot provide a measure of this theoretically crucial lead-lag relationship.

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Similar reservations apply to their handling of modernization. For example, we draw important conclusions from the existence of large urban agglomerations within a society only if they represent an ongoing process of urbanization. A country with a large but constant proportion of its population in cities cannot be treated in terms of the transition theory in the same way as a country which has an identical percentage of its population in cities but is undergoing rapid urbanization.

Finally, it should be noted that the transition theory, as stated and tested by Hatt, Farr, and Weinstein, involves no prediction about the demographic future of countries in the third and last category, sometimes labeled "incipient decline." In the context of their statement of the theory, this category is simply the most advanced stage so far observed, a stage characterized by previously unprecedentedly low levels of fertility and mortality. Perhaps the main additional demographic attribute which sets these countries apart from others is the fact that no historical precedents exist to provide clues to the demographic future of countries whose subsequent demographic history will be determined largely by the course of a perhaps highly elastic fertility.

SUMMARY

In summary, we believe that Hatt, Farr, and Weinstein are correct in attempting to increase the precision of generalizations incorporated in the transition theory. Unfortunately, they have employed a procedure which prevents them from obtaining meaningful results. Most of our objections to their method can be subsumed under the following headings:

1. The Q-technique cannot produce meaningful factors from the limited data they employ, and their sevenfold classification of countries is therefore not verified.

 Ranking countries in terms of relative positions on separate scales of mortality and fertility precludes adequate analysis of crucial lead-lag relationships within countries.

 A theory of comparative rates of change cannot be tested from status variables; measures of change over some specified time period are required.

4. A test of the relationship of two arbitrarily selected measures of "modernization" to mortality and fertility, although valuable, cannot correctly be represented as a test (and substantial refutation) of current formulations of the transition theory.

At the same time, we believe that valid tests of the relationship of changes in vital rates to changes in selected indices would be of great value. Out of such tests might come some real advance in the direction of increasingly rigorous formulation of the transition theory.

THE STATISTICAL LIE DETECTOR: AN APPLICATION TO POSSIBLY EVASIVE RESPONSES IN A VOTING BEHAVIOR STUDY

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ZEISEL has demonstrated that by the application of what he calls a statistical lie detector, it is possible under certain conditions to infer that a particular answer to a question, either "Don't Know" or a variant thereof, represents a pretext to

avoid the true answer. One set of circumstances in which detection becomes possible is that in which the questionable response category of a given variable appears to be related to another factor in the same way as one of the other response categories of that given variable. To put this notion

^{*}I am indebted to Professor Paul F. Lazarsfeld for his critical reading of this paper and for his helpful suggestions.

¹ Hans Zeisel, Say It With Figures, New York: Harper and Bros., 1947, pp. 58-62.

somewhat more formally, let X refer to the given variable related to another factor Y. Let X_1 , X_2 , X_3 refer to the categories of X. Let X_3 be the possibly evasive category of response. Then, it may be argued, that if the Y value of the X_3 's is the same as that of the X_2 's, there is in fact no difference between the X_3 's and the X_2 's with respect to X; and X_3 represents an evasion of X_2 . If it can be shown there is no difference between the X_3 's and X_2 's with respect to other factors in addition to Y, the confidence in the deduction is increased.

In the first interview of the 1948 panel study of voting behavior in Elmira, New York,² each respondent was asked, "Do you think most Catholics around here would be more likely to vote for the Republican,

TABLE 1. HOW MOST CATHOLICS WERE EXPECTED TO VOTE IN ELMIRA BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

How Catholics Were Expected to Vote	Catholics Per Cent	Protestants Per Cent
Republican	11	11
Democrat	33	42
Not as a bloc	31	9
Don't know	25	38
	_	
Total	100	100
	(294)	(686)

Democratic, or Wallace Third Party?" One interesting result was that not only did over half of the Catholic respondents fail to attribute a definite party preference to Catholics, but 31 per cent responded that Catholics "won't vote as a bloc" (Table 1). This latter response was volunteered despite the fact that no such answer is provided in the wording of the question. Interviewing experience has revealed that respondents are not generally in the habit of articulating responses when ready-made ones or "Don't Know" are available.³

Among Protestant respondents from whom an answer to this question was obtained, only 9 per cent volunteered that Catholics "won't vote as a bloc"; a majority assigned most of the Catholic vote to one political camp or the other. Thus, this expressed

Table 2.* Per Cent Republican of the Major Party Preference and Vote Among Catholics By How They Thought Most Other Catholics in Elmira Would Vote, June and November, 1948

How Catholics Were Expected to Vote	Per Cent Republican (Y)					
	June Preference	November Vote				
Republican (X ₁)	63(27)	53(19)				
Democratic (X ₂) No preference	47(73)	35(51)				
indicated (X ₃)	52(103)	33(83)				

*Percentages are computed on the basis of those who expressed a preference and voted for the Republican or Democratic presidential candidate. Those who did not express a preference and did not vote and those who indicated minor party preference and vote are disregarded. The figures in parentheses are the total frequencies corresponding to 100 per cent in each case.

relative lack of knowledge by Catholics about how most other Catholics vote, plus the fact that a disproportionate number volunteered the same response, requires special attention.

If lack of attribution of partisan preference to most Catholics represents an evasion by those Catholics who fall into this category (X_3) , their behavior with respect to relevant other factors (Y) should be the same as that of those Catholics who attributed a Democratic preference to most Catholics (X_2) ; ⁴ for it is a generally accepted fact that most Catholics do vote Democratic.⁵ Table 2 reveals that the actual voting be-

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² Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, *Voting*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954.

³ Stanley L. Payne, The Art of Asking Questions, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951, p. 86.

⁴ There is an alternative possibility. Those who are motivated to evade the question represent an entirely different breed of respondent with respect to the other relevant factors; and the Y values of these respondents should be different from that of the other categories of respondents. In this case, the problem of differentiating between evasion and legitimate DK's is considerably more complex. Here the analyst is treading on dangerous ground, for the hypothesis of evasion can become incapable of disproof. Regardless of what Y values are observed, an interpretation of evasion becomes possible. To prevent this, the analyst must assume that the possibly evasive category represents a legitimate DK if the Y value of that category approximates the weighted mean of the Y values of the other categories.

⁵ S. M. Lipset, P. F. Lazarsfeld, A. H. Barton, and J. Linz, "The Psychology of Voting: An Analysis of Political Behavior," in G. Lindzey (ed.), *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Vol. II, Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1954, p. 1140.

havior (Y) of these two categories (X₃ and X₂) was almost identical. The two-party vote of those Catholics who attributed no partisan preference to most Catholics was the same as that of those Catholics who said most Catholics would vote Democratic.

Though not nearly so marked, the June pattern of preference tends in the same direction as the November vote. The Catholics who attributed no party preference to most Catholics (X3) were more like those who had attributed a Democratic preference (X2) than those who had attributed a Republican preference (X1). Even the fact of some difference in this instance fits in with a hypothesis of deliberate evasion.6 The somewhat greater Republican preference of the "no preference" respondents (X3) can be explained in terms of the evidence that a number of Catholics who did not intend to vote the way they thought their co-religionists would were disturbed by the articulation of this "discrepancy." 7 Therefore, it would be expected that relatively somewhat more Catholics who intended to vote Re-

Table 3. How Catholics Thought Most Other Catholics and People Like Self in Elmira Would Vote

	How Catholics Were Expected to Vote						
How People Like Self Were Expected to Vote	Republican Per Cent (X1)	Democrat Per Cent (X ₂)	No Party Preference Per Cent (X ₃)				
Republican	64	45	37				
Democrat	13	35	26				
No party							
indicated	23	20	37				
			_				
	100	100	100				
	(30)	(83)	(125)				

publican would not "admit" that most Catholics would vote Democratic.

Another relevant factor (Y) which gives a positive indication of evasion is the response to a question in the second interview, "How

⁶ It is necessary to keep in mind the caution of fn. 4.

would you say most people like you-that is, people who work and live the way you do -how would you say most of them are going to vote?" The distribution of response (Table 3) among the "no preference" respondents (X3) is markedly more similar to that of those attributing a Democratic preference (X2) than those attributing a Republican preference (X1). The major difference between the X₃'s and the X₂'s is in the greater per cent among the former of those who attributed no party preference to people like themselves. This difference, as in the instance just discussed above, is in the expected direction. There must be some legitimately politically non-perceptive respondents among the X_3 's, and these would be expected, therefore, in greater proportion, to be unaware of any partisan preference among people like themselves.

It has now been demonstrated that with respect to three relevant factors (Y), the behavior of those Catholic respondents who attributed no party preference to most Catholics (X₃) is about the same as that of those Catholic respondents who attributed a Democratic preference to most Catholics (X₂), rather than a Republican preference (X₁), and the small differences that do exist are in the expected direction. This analysis lends support to the hypothesis that many of those Catholics who did not attribute a definite party choice to most Catholics did in fact believe that most Catholics would vote Democratic.⁸

A further test suggests itself with the last factor considered, how "people like you" were expected to vote. Almost twothirds of those Catholic respondents who attributed no party preference to most

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⁷ David Gold, "The Influence of Religious Affiliation on Voting Behavior" (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1953), pp. 187–188. In the third interview, when such "discrepancy" was called to the attention of respondents, they displayed considerable affect.

⁸ No claim is made that this test has the force of formal logic. A statistical relationship among manifest data has been taken as a basis for a psychological inference. It has not been proved that a respondent who says he does not know how most other Catholics will vote really does know that they will vote Democratic. Given reasons indicated the possibility that a particular class of respondents were evading a given response to a given question. These reasons led the analyst to make certain predictions about how this class of respondents would behave. The analysis demonstrates that the predictions are borne out. It is always a possibility that correct predictions were made from incorrect reasons. However, it seems to this writer that the burden of proof to demonstrate that such is the case now rests elsewhere.

Catholics did, however, indicate a definite party preference among people like themselves (Table 3). This is somewhat less than the comparable proportion of those Catholic respondents who attributed a definite party preference to most Catholics, four-fifths of whom also indicated a definite party preference among people like themselves. Nevertheless, the proportion (two-thirds) is high enough to suggest that the lack of partisan preference attributed to most Catholics was not wholly genuine. For regardless of how the respondent may have interpreted "most people like you," it is unlikely that twothirds of those Catholics who were so politically non-perceptive that they did not know that most Catholics vote Democratic would at the same time be aware of the partisan preference of the vaguely defined

"people like you." Therefore, if we equate all those Catholics who attributed the same (or no) party preference to people like themselves and then note the difference in voting behavior between those who attributed a Democratic preference to most Catholics and those who attributed no party preference, additional information relevant to an inference about evasions of the true answer will be obtained. In somewhat more formal language, instead of simply dealing with the given variable (X) and relevant factors (Y), a control factor (Z) has been designated. Then if within each category of Z the Y values of a possibly evasive category (X3) and another category (X2) are the same, it can be argued as in the former case (using only X and Y) that X₃ represents an evasion of X_2 . In comparison to the earlier analysis, this analysis cannot provide a powerful positive indication. Given that there is some degree of association between Z and Y, control of Z necessarily reduces differences between X₃ and X₂ with respect to Y. But it is precisely this feature of the analysis which can provide a powerful negative indication, and therein lies the utility of such analysis.

In the present case, as revealed in the first four rows of Table 4, the statistical lie detector does not register negative. With respect to both the June patterns of preference and the November vote, there are only slight differences between the "no preference" Catholics (X₃) and those attributing

Table 4.* Per Cent Republican of the Major Party Preference and Vote Among Catholics By How They Thought Most Other Catholics and People Like Self Would Vote in Elmira, June and November, 1948

Attributed Vote to	Per Cent Republican (Y)					
like self Repub. catholics Demo. (X ₂) like self Repub. catholics DK (X ₃) like self Demo. catholics Demo. (X ₂) like self Demo. catholics Demo. catholics DK	June Preference	November Vote				
Catholics DK (X ₈) like self Repub.	67(35)	50(34)				
Catholics Demo. (X ₂) like self Repub.	63(32)	48(23)				
Catholics DK (X ₃) like self Demo.	21(24)	5(21)				
Catholics Demo. (X ₂) like self Demo.	14(22)	12(17)				
Catholics DK like self DK	58(28)	32(28)				

*Reference to Table 3 will indicate that only 5 of the 9 possible combinations of the categories of how Catholics were expected to vote and the categories of how people like self were expected to vote (last column and first two rows of second column) are involved in this table. The actual number of cases in each of the omitted combinations is so small that reliable comparisons cannot be made; although in each case the DK Catholics would be revealed to be considerably more like the Demo. Catholics than like the Repub. Catholics.

Democratic preference (X_2) , given that they agree on how people like themselves would vote.

In sum, the type of analysis demonstrated here has given substantial ground for inferring that a considerable proportion of those Catholics who said they did not know how most Catholics would vote, or that Catholics would not vote as a block, must have believed that most Catholics would vote Democratic.⁹

As a final note, attention might be focused on that sub-grouping which would be expected most genuinely not to know that most Catholics vote Democratic, those who also attributed no definite party preference to people like themselves (bottom row, Table 4). Both with respect to June preference and November vote, their behavior paralleled that of the Catholic respondents as a whole, exactly as legitimate "Don't Know" respondents would be expected to be distributed.¹⁰

10 See fn. 4.

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⁹ For the possible ramifications of such dissembling behavior in terms of explaining Catholic voting behavior, see Gold, op. cit., pp. 185–199.

NURSING: THE FUNCTIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF AN INSTITUTIONAL PATTERN

ISIDOR THORNER
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THIS paper is concerned with three sets of problems suggested by the patientnurse relationship. (1) Why and how do the variables, which pattern the role expectations of the nurse (and patient), function in relation to activities directed toward restoration of the patient's health? This, of course, does not mean that the problems in the patient-nurse situation always are or must be solved, or that a particular structure or set of them is the only possible solution. Further, it is understood that the pattern of variables constituting the framework of the role is an abstraction from the mutually interdependent expectations of its occupants and the public. These expectations are activated from a latency condition while the personal relationships are in process. A factor such as faith in science and its medical discoveries, for example, is subsidiary to the role elements inherent in the patient situation and serves to enhance, not create, confidence in the physician. Thus, the Hippocratic oath is as basic to modern medicine as to that of ancient Greece. (2) What are some of the dysfunctional consequences of the pattern variables and how do they come about? (3) Is it possible to understand the process of differential role internalization in the medical professions in the same terms as the internalization of the patient's role? 1

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For the sociologist perhaps the two most significant consequences of an illness serious enough to require hospitalization are the disruption of the patient's normal round of activities and what this implies. With due regard for the qualifications necessitated by deliberate exaggeration, it is suggested that the heretofore accepted frame of reference, legitimate expectations, patterns of perceiving, feeling, thinking and acting, processes of interaction with others, dis-

charge of responsibilities, achievement of ends, exchange of recognition and response are more or less seriously interrupted. The break in all these idea patterns and action systems tends to result in varying degrees of uncertainty and anxiety or "free-floating affect"; the bases of emotional dependability and control crumble as emotional chaos sets in. The psychological corollary of this condition is the necessity and readiness on the part of the patient for a new frame of reference,² new emotional expectations and dependencies, new values; in brief, a new, if temporary, way of life must be constructed in short order.

I

The nurse, like the mother in relation to the infant, caters to the patient's needs and, therefore, presents the most convenient "object of cathexis" on whom he may discharge his craving for response as well as aggressive impulses. This is the situation which predisposes the patient to the transference phenomenon ("falling in love" with the nurse) and provides not only the condition for willing conformance to the nurse's authority 3 but also the opportunity for exploiting the patient's vulnerability. In this complex situation the interests of all (patient, nurse, physician and hospital) must be safeguarded so that therapeutic measures may be undertaken with maximum effectiveness. But this could hardly occur if the patient should be exposed to grave threats to

¹The data used in the analysis of the first set of problems have been obtained for the most part by the author as a participant-observer-patient in large private hospitals.

² See Muzafer Sherif, *The Psychology of Social Norms*, New York: Harper and Bros., 1936; compare R. R. Grinker and J. P. Spiegel, *Men Under Stress*, Philadelphia: Blakiston, 1945, p. 175, on the condition of the patient under the influence of a Pentothal injection.

³ The parallel to periods of strain and crisis in the larger social structure is apparent. Disintegration of the system of legitimate expectations and behavior patterns (anomie) with the unleashing of emotions receptive to reintegration constitutes the optimum condition for the formation of new patterns, norms, values, and authorities.

his pre-existent ties and obligations, especially the primary relations comprising his families of orientation and procreation.

Hence, it is a functional prerequisite that all concerned take for granted that the exclusive focus of interest is not the unique person, but the patient. The chief obligation of the nurse, as of all the medical professions, is to facilitate the expeditious transition of the patient to the person. To this end the emotional life is culturally defined (and very largely realized in practice) as belonging to the "private" sphere, stopping short of the sickroom, for both patient and nurse. If the former is a gall bladder "case," the latter is, reciprocally, the uniformed female who attends the case's needs. When the case begins to notice the nurse as a person, he is on the path to recovery. The malingerer and the "chronic patient" are the exceptions which prove the rule. They become patients not only for the functionally specific purpose of recovery but also, consciously or not, for the functionally diffuse "secondary gains" associated with the gratification of dependency needs and the avoidance of responsibility.4 The mutuality of privileges and obligations is functionally specific in that it applies only while the nurse is on duty and insofar as the patient is defined as such.

But however desirable and necessary these reciprocally interrelated attitudes may be, their initiation and maintenance are complicated by the fact that a person is a complex unitary entity. The therapeutic process "requires" as a condition of its effectiveness that the patient's functionally diffuse needs for response and support be met in part. To this extent the patient must be treated as a person. On the other hand, anxiety about his pre-existent ties and obligations acts to protect the person from succumbing to the attractions presented by the nurse as an object of cathexis.5 Clearly, a delicate balance must be maintained between affective neutrality and affective expression so

that both patient and nurse are protected. The latter and other staff members in contact with the patient are partially shielded from emotional entanglements by the fact that they are not subject to the brokenpattern situation and its consequences.6

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For the nurse's role these considerations entail a number of consequences. Most obvious is the element of disinterestedness in that the patient's welfare is primary. It is the acknowledged moral obligation of nursing and other medical professions to exercise the best available knowledge and facilities so that early recovery is achieved. (There are deviations of course; a doctor may, for example, "nurse" a case along for "rent money.") While, on the one hand, a universalistically defined standard, the fact of illness, entitles the sick to these obligations and services, on the other, his recovery, in the context of the nature and severity of the illness, provides an objective measurement of the incumbent's achievement in the role of nurse or physician-and, indirectly, the hospital as well. Neither the physician nor the hospital can long hide from derogatory professional notice and gossip unusually prolonged recoveries or higher than normal mortality rates. To sum up, the pattern of expectations constituting the nursing role is characterized by disinterest, functional specificity, affective neutrality, universalism, and performance-oriented achievement.7

One of the attractions of surgical nursing as a specialty lies precisely in the fact that, as one student nurse remarked, "One sees more quickly the results of your work," that is, performance-

oriented achievement is highly valued.

In some instances it may be convenient to specify as an independent variable what is implied in several of the others: morality and moral neutrality. The latter is institutionalized in the expectations of the nurse, social worker, physician, and analyst among others, while the assumption of an explicit moral position is conspicuous in the Roman

⁶ The balance between affectivity and impersonality constitutes a particularly difficult problem for the psychiatrist. Compare Ian D. Suttie, The Origins of Love and Hate, London: Kegan Paul, 1948, pp. 74-79, 159-161, and 211-217; and R. Dalbiez, Psychoanalytical Method and the Doctrine of Freud, London: Longmans, Green, 1941, Vol. 1, pp. 213-215. ⁷ For a discussion of these concepts see Parsons, op. cit., pp. 58 ff., as well as his earlier analysis in "The Professions and Social Structure," Social Forces, 17 (May, 1939), pp. 457-467.

⁴ See Talcott Parsons, The Social System, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951, pp. 436-439. In this sense the patient has both a disinterested and self-interested motive for getting well.

⁵ See Talcott Parsons, Robert F. Bales and Edward A. Shils, Working Papers in the Theory of Action, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953, pp. 185 and 182, Fig. 2.

In surgical cases the administration of preoperative hypnotics and narcotics to inhibit pain and relieve anxiety results in a functionally beneficial by-product: all concern and inhibitions associated with the privacy of the body are removed, so that male and female strangers may take the "liberties" necessitated by surgery. This is the culmination of the process whereby the patient transfers responsibility for himself to the temporary technical authority of his physician. From another viewpoint, the patient is aided by these drugs to assume the functionally necessary attitude of affective neutrality prescribed by his role. Patients who are conscious and rational during surgery usually talk about themselves, how the operation is progressing and when it will be over, but never (according to at least one experienced anaesthetist) are there any reactions to the intrusion upon his privacy. Emotional detachment is successfully achieved. Affective neutrality is re-enforced, as an unexpected gain, by the small talk of surgeons and nurses while the patient awaits surgery. It tends to divert and reassure the patient (in what proportion of cases it is hard to say) about the safety and routine nature of his case, thus contributing to the drug-induced sense of ease and confidence with which he submits to surgery.

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If it is easy to grasp the utility of impersonality on the surgical table, what about its functioning in the nurse's role? The writer has, over a period of several years, put this strategically significant question, severally and collectively, to a number of nurses: "What do you think of a nurse marrying her patient?" The replies have been invariable. "It is repulsive!" burst out one of a group while the rest indicated approval of the sentiment. Varying degrees of disapproval, contempt, and disgust were noticeable in every instance. Some admitted that a patient could be a "good catch" but, nevertheless, they disapproved. And the disapproval increased, due, very probably, to the flouting of the romantic love pattern, when a hypothetical patient was described as rich and old. Here the obviously self-interested implications re-enforce the indignation over the infringement of role expectations prescribing functionally specific affective neutrality. In the context of this professional attitude the congratulations tendered a "special" by other nurses on her marriage to a wealthy patient seems to be most reasonably attributed to their role as women, not nurses. On the other hand, envy or jealousy might very well re-enforce professional sentiments.

Marrying a patient is disapproved because it implies that the nurse has taken advantage of the patient's vulnerability and placed the gratification of private interest and emotional expression above professional obligations and loyalty. It is prima facie evidence to the profession, regardless of mitigating circumstances, that discrimination has occurred among patients (contra universalistic expectations), that affective neutrality has broken down, and finally, that segregation of emotional relationships (other than what is therapeutically indicated) to the private sphere outside working hours has failed. As a matter of fact and theory it is difficult if not impossible to treat every patient alike, clear-headedly and to the best of one's ability, unless one patient means no more emotionally than another.9

Two observations on the nurses' reactions are in order. None knew why she felt as she did. Apparently the idea of a nurse marrying a patient does not normally occur, although marriages occasionally eventuate. One of the more obvious obstacles is the fact that the patient's individuality is lost sight of; it is hard to be romantic about "one's gall bladder case," for example. Secondly, the combination of a moral position and emotion indicates that a deeply rooted institutional pattern has been violated. The

Catholic confessor's office. Some hints as to the strains arising from the nurse's professional code (at least in a predominantly Protestant society) and the Catholic value pattern may be discerned in the Rev. Francis J. Connell's *Morals in Politics and Professions*, Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Bookshop, 1946.

⁸ For an analysis of relations between ascetic Protestantism, the romantic love pattern, and nursing, see the writer's "Sociological Aspects of Affectional Frustration," *Psychiatry*, 6 (May, 1943), pp. 157-173.

⁹ Similar considerations motivate the reluctance of physicians to treat close relatives when seriously ill. If the doctor maintains a professional impersonality toward the *patient*, the *relative* is hurt because the normatively prescribed manifestation of sentiment is violated.

professional code, as the internalized part of the role personality, so defines the situation for the nurse that the range and direction of thought and action which might otherwise be "natural" are strictly delimited. It would seem that the effectiveness with which the nurse's code operates is in response to the structure of relations in which she and the patient, among others, participate. 10

It will be recalled that the nurse is faced with the problem of achieving a compromise between the functionally specific impersonality of her role and the therapeutically beneficial expression of interest, warmth, kindness, and sympathy elicited both by the condition of the patient and his expectations of what constitutes proper feminine conduct.11 The nurse, however, cannot allow herself to become emotionally involved without paying a penalty. Patients are often irritating, demanding, and unreasonable; they suffer intensely, weeping and moaning; they die. If she were to take these things to heart, if she were to bring her professional cares home with her, the nurse would collapse under the strain. Although impersonality is the norm, deviating reactions to a serious case sometimes occur. These, however, are very largely confined to private duty nursing, since regular staff nurses have too many patients to allow the development of emotional attachments. This condition facilitates the operation of functionally specific impersonality. A private duty nurse on occasion may identify with the patient

to such a degree that she will say, "We didn't do so well today," or "We had a bad night last night." She will suffer with the patient and, if he dies, she may mourn. The other reaction is quite different. The nurse identifies and suffers with the patient up to a certain degree of intensity of suffering on his part. Beyond that, she becomes extremely detached; the patient becomes "it." Should "it" die, however, the nurse may collapse in a nervous breakdown.

In both instances the barrier of affective neutrality has failed. In the first, emotional involvement developed, increased, and was expressed continuously, thereby mitigating to some extent the strain experienced at death. Functional specificity and conformance to universalistic expectations of fulfillment of duty were also involved (to say nothing of loss of income), indicated by the refusal of new cases during the period of mourning. In the second, when emotional attachment threatened the stability of the personality, the nurse's defense was a sudden overintensification of impersonality. The collapse at the end of the case proves that affective neutrality was not deep and genuine enough. She had not been able to maintain from the beginning the optimum combination of professional interest and detachment. In both instances failure of the institutional pattern demonstrates in terms of psychological cost to the nurse the functional necessity of affective neutrality.12

10 It would be sheer flattery to attribute such powerful feelings to a few quickly forgotten lectures on professional ethics in school.

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¹¹ This same problem confronts the woman physician and seems to be the source of apparently contradictory beliefs among some nurses. One view has it that women doctors are too "masculine," while the other affirms that the nurse becomes more feminine as a result of her work. These views may be reconciled on the supposition of confusion of pattern variables and their referents. While the generalized female sex role emphasizes personality uniqueness and affective qualities, that of the physician stresses universalistically oriented achievement and impersonality. It is relatively easy to attribute an unfeminine "masculinity" to the woman who is a physician because impersonality is common to both the generalized male and physician's roles. On the other hand, there may be some ground for the belief that nursing enhances certain feminine traits because the nurse's expression of affect, within limits, is therapeutically indicated.

¹² The same problem, solution, and penalty for failure confront the physician. Flanders Dunbar remarks that "... a physician will encounter two types of patients who are most discouraging. One is the patient who makes him sick (literally, not in any idiomatic sense of the word) from emotional antagonism or irritation. The other is the patient who aggravates the physician's own ailments by displaying the same symptoms or by confounding medical wisdom by refusing to get well.

[&]quot;The number of doctors who fall victim to their patients psychosomatically is surprisingly large." (Mind and Body: Psychosomatic Medicine, New York: Random House, 1947, p. 47.) Analysis of the functional utility of impersonality (as well as the other variables) and of the part that professional training plays in shaping occupational personality should not be interpreted as a denial of the importance of other factors. The social sieve for the selection and weeding out of aspirants to and occupants of the roles under study is a good deal more intricate than a necessarily limited study can indicate. Individuals whose emotional makeup

By the same token affective neutrality is rendered superfluous when the nurse is required to deal with healthy individuals who have accepted added responsibility as citizens by contributing to blood banks. When nurses help donors walk to the recuperating room, they are more likely to express sympathy and admiration—so far as this writer's experience goes-than when they are in professional attendance upon a genuine patient. The explanation of the difference in attitude lies in the fact that the donor is not defined as a patient. Therefore, the health-restoring function and, hence, the impersonality and functional specificity of the role are not engaged. As a consequence, there is less chance of the nurse's sympathies becoming seriously involved and more opportunity for a momentary display of that kindliness toward the weak which the culture defines as appropriate to the female role.13

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It is significant of the symbolic relation between health and sex that when a patient commences to regale his nurse with off-color stories, she may begin to show less interest in him. If a man is well enough to take that much interest in life, he is less a patient than a convalescent; as such, he requires and receives less of a necessarily limited amount of nursing which may be more usefully devoted to others. Furthermore, sexual allusions present a threat to the functionally specific impersonality appropriate to the patient-nurse relationship. On the other

hand, nurses may drop their role and spend odd moments in banter. As the definition of patient and nurse changes, so does behavior.

Intimately related to the same problem of neutralizing the sexual connotations inherent in nursing activities is the fact that nurses are not usually taught how to catheterize the male. While male physicians regularly-catheterize females under the same role-protection which permits them to be obstetricians and gynecologists, male nurses and orderlies may catheterize male patients only. Catheterization of the female by nurses, 14 however, is routine. They have little or no hesitation in touching the buttocks or rectal areas when washing a patient or adjusting dressings. But whenever a patient is capable of it, he will be told "Finish your bath yourself."

The probabilities are that the institutionalization of nursing as a feminine occupation is related to certain aspects of the sex roles and their associated body symbols. The female nurse is permitted access to all parts of the male (including use of the catheter in emergency) in the line of duty. Male nurses, however, have no access to any part of the female patient. This differentiation may be related to the belief that women should be passive agents in sexual encounters. Per contra, the institutionalization of the belief in male aggressiveness would render symbolically more dangerous in implication the activities of the male nurse in relation to female patients. Paradoxical as it may appear on a superficial level, the conflict between the culturally defined passivity of the woman and the overt activities of the nurse facilitates the institutionalization and functioning of both impersonality 15 and functional specificity by removing sexual symbolism from her activities. The converse

precludes the degree of impersonality required may refrain from entering these professions, shift to other less exacting fields or medical specialties after having experienced the strains, or continue to function, ineffectively or otherwise, despite the cost to themselves and their patients.

13 The blood donor's retention of responsibility is related to the good humor with which he regards nurses at the blood bank. They do not symbolize loss of responsibility and, hence, claims to earned recognition and response, claims which are not valid when a patient remains at home among persons for whom he is responsible. Thus, the contrariety of the patient bedridden at home may give way to a sense of relief when he relinquishes responsibility to the nurse and physician who are culturally defined as the legitimate temporary trustees of responsibility. (The relief obtained through the confessional has a similar derivation.) It is a significant symbol of a stage in the recovery of health, self-respect, and responsibility when a patient insists on shaving himself for the first time or a woman starts using cosmetics.

14 Significantly, "nurse" refers without specification to female nurses. The profession is regarded with a certain degree of ambivalence as to its suitability for men. So drastically has nursing changed since the days of Florence Nightingale!

15 The pervasiveness of this trait is nicely symbolized by the fact that a patient rarely addresses the nurse by name; he calls "nurse" for attention. Generally, and with relatively few exceptions, nurses disregard the instructions of at least some schools about introducing themselves by name to a new patient, that is, in staff, not private duty, nursing.

Incidentally, the advantages in respect of sexual inhibition and romantic temptations are obvious when a religious order engages in nursing.

of this situation would render infinitely more difficult the position of the male nurse in relation to women patients. Similarly, it is standard office practice for a receptionist, nurse, or relative to be on hand when a male physician examines or treats female patients. No unnecessary exposure is allowed.

The importance of sex symbolism as indicative of tension in the relation between the sexes in the roles of nurse, physician, and patient shows itself in the dirty story as something of an occupational obsession. It was noted above that both professions break through the emotional taboos that hedge about the sanctity of the body. For the same reasons, and as part of the process whereby impersonality and functional specificity are developed as safeguards, an attitude of neutrality toward the sexually significant areas of the body arises. And by extension physicians and nurses tend to look upon sex as relatively neutral, devoid of moral connotations. At least, it is thought this view may be found to a greater extent than in most other occupations. But nurses and doctors are nonetheless socialized beings who have acquired before training and retain, in whatever degree, the same sentiments and moral beliefs which they share with their fellows. The constant and unavoidable violation of these sentiments and beliefs cannot but lead to guilt feelings. It is suggested that a convenient method of venting the tension and admitting guilt is by way of the dirty story.

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The vulnerability of the patient and the pattern variables are susceptible of abuse, given the proper (or improper) conditions. For example, when there is little or no possibility of full recovery as in the case of the aged sick or incurably insane and, when, consequently, the chief purpose of nursing and medicine is frustrated, the operation of the pattern variables may be twisted so as to render the helpless patient the victim of callousness and aggressive impulses on the part of doctors and nurses. ¹⁶

This is permitted by the very role elements of impersonality and functional specificity which protect them in the performance of their therapeutic duties.

Similarly, when it was possible to undermine the sanctity of the individual by defining certain categories of people as enemies, or useless to the state, or not fully human, as in Nazi Germany, organized medicine offered little effective opposition to the scientifically useless and sadistically conducted experiments upon unwilling subjects. In this instance the coercive element institutionalized in the German family patterns and social structure seems to have "played in with" and re-enforced the impersonality and moral neutrality of the medical role. The danger that may result from the normatively uncontrolled operation of these variables is shown by the fact that while knowledge of the Nazi euthanasia program raised enough public indignation to stop it, the medical profession raised no objection to the experiments which may not have been widely known outside medical circles.17

TII

The utility of the broken-pattern situation in contributing to the explanation of the patient's receptivity to his role suggests that, perhaps, it might also be useful in analyzing the place and process of internalization of the medical professions' ethic and role.

Although disinterest is formally incorporated in the ethical codes of medicine, nursing, dentistry, pharmacy, and optometry, it is probably more effectively institutionalized in the first two. The reasons for the

For less serious consequences to hospital ward patients of the malfunctioning of the pattern variables, see the quotations from the *Lancet* (a British medical journal) in *Time*, December 6, 1948, pp. 78–79.

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¹⁶ For a description of conditions in a state insane asylum which may be analyzed in these terms, see Harold Orlansky, "An American Death Camp," *Politics*, 3 (Summer, 1948), pp. 162–167.

¹⁷ See Time, October 30, 1950; A. C. Ivy, "Nazi War Crimes of a Medical Nature, Some Conclusions," Journal of the American Medical Association, 139 (January 15, 1949), pp. 131-135; Bruno Bettelheim's review in the American Journal of Sociology, 55 (September, 1949), pp. 214-215, of Mitscherlich, Doctors of Infamy: The Story of Nazi Medical Crimes; and Isidor Thorner, "German Words, German Personality and Protestantism," Psychiatry, 8 (November, 1945), pp. 403-417, together with additional data in a rejoinder, Psychiatry, 13 (November, 1950), pp. 511-514.

self-interested behavior of the pharmacist (partially attributable to the conflict between professional and commercial role requirements) and, inferentially, the optometrist have been examined elsewhere.18 A major factor in the less thorough institutionalization of disinterest in dentistry is the lesser degree of responsibility which this specialist assumes for his patient; the latter's life is rarely at stake. It is precisely because the doctor's patient is in more serious jeopardy, and therefore more vulnerable, that there is greater need for playing down the financial aspect and emphasizing the patient-oriented variable in the physician and nurse roles.19

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¹⁸ Isidor Thorner, "Pharmacy: The Functional Significance of an Institutional Pattern," Social Forces, 20 (March, 1942), pp. 321-328.

10 The plaque requesting payment as work proceeds is as common in dentists' as it is rare in physicians' offices. Fragmentary statistical data point in the same direction. For example, in the Los Angeles Classified Telephone Directory of December 1943, 9 out of 1838 physicians (M.D.s) or .49 per cent, 17 out of 1169 dentists or 1.45 per cent, and 19 out of 282 optometrists or 6.7 per cent bought extensive advertising space. In addition to these wholly commercial advertisements, there were smaller boxed advertisements in the space devoted primarily to office listings: 4 in the medical, 10 in the dental, and 45 in the optometrists' section.

The data for December 1946 are tabulated as follows:

101101131	A	В	C	D
	Columns			
Pro-	Practi-	Columns		No.
fession	tioners	of Ads	B/A	of Ads
Medicine	59	13.75	.233	16
Dentistry	18.75	11.25	.60	18
Optometry	11.75	15.75	134.0	25
	E	F	G	H
		No. of		
		Box Ads	Bold Face	
	D/A	/A	Listings	G/A
Medicine	.27	.28	10	.17
Dentistry	.96	.48	18	.96
Optometry	2.13	4.69	100	8.51
Inspection	n of the n	ages from	which these	figures

Inspection of the pages from which these figures were derived suggests that there is an inverse relationship between the tendency to advertise by physicians and the degree of risk to the patient among various medical specialties.

This table cannot be taken at face value, for not all practitioners appear in the telephone directory; the medical and dental associations prohibit advertising upon pain of loss of membership, but the sanctions are of unequal weight. The local optometry association at that time at least merely attempted to discourage untruthful advertisements.

But establishing degrees of responsibility and self-interest is, however, not the same as identification and explanation of the process whereby responsibility is accepted and disinterest inculcated. Is there anything so distinctive of nursing and medicine but lacking in dentistry, pharmacy, and optometry that might account for the difference in the depth and scope of professionalization? It will be recalled that the disruption of the patient's wonted activities provided the optimum condition for conformance to the patterned expectations of his new role. Is there in the career of nurses and physicians a stage that is not normally present in other healing professions and corresponds to a disintegration of old patterns and the formation of new ones?

The closest approximation to this type of situation for the introjection of a professional ethic and role personality is provided by the teaching hospital where nurses are trained and interns and residents live for a year or more subsequent to graduation from professional school. In the hospital they must adjust to a drastically different way of life with new or relatively new ideals and values, new charismatically endowed exemplars, new ways of earning recognition and response. The hospital is an "isolated community" where the pattern variables of disinterest, affective neutrality, universalism, functional specificity, and achievement in meeting rolerequired responsibilities are learned in addition to the acquisition of knowledge, techniques, skill, and bedside manners-not merely through purposive study but in the more subtle and effective unconscious imitation of respected teachers and colleagues.20

Typically, this period and place of internship are absent in the training of most dentists, pharmacists, and optometrists. Apparently, they are not necessary for technical reasons, with the exception of the exodontist and similar dental-surgical specialists. The student dentist, for example, usually lives at home or with nonmedical

²⁰ See Theodore M. Newcomb, Personality and Social Change, New York: Dryden Press, 1943; and the chapter by Merton and Kitt on reference group theory in Robert K. Merton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld (eds.), Continuities in Social Research, Studies in the Scope and Method of "The American Soldier," Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1050

students away from home as part of his college life while attending junior and senior classes in clinical dentistry. There is relatively little of the pressure of living in a professional community in which the basic orientation is toward the perfection of skills in behalf of the patient. To the extent that training in the other healing professions approximates this condition, more effective internalization of role personality might be expected.²¹

²¹ The influence attributed to the conditions of professional training in molding role personality should be viewed in a perspective larger than space permits. The teaching hospital cannot, of course, radically transform the adult personalities with which it deals (the nurse is usually younger than the intern), nor substitute a wholly new set of ethical principles. The professional ethic and personality may be more or less successfully grafted upon kindred spirits.

It is worth noting in this respect that ascetic Protestantism has shaped a personality type with the capacity for enduring the tensions incident to the assumption of responsibility and the discipline required by functionally specific affective neutrality. (See footnote 8.) On the other hand Roman Catholic societies have taken advantage of a non-Protestant phenomenon to screen for and train such personalities through the mechanism of monastic nursing.

FACTORS IN THE PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT OF INSTITUTIONALIZED AND NON-INSTITUTIONALIZED AGED *

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INTRODUCTION

THERE have been numerous studies of the personal adjustment of the aged during the past several years. Some studies have been made of older people in homes for the aged and nursing homes. However,

*The Hogg Foundation for Mental Hygiene, The University of Texas, provided a research fellowship which made this study possible.

¹ See Ruth Shonle Cavan, et al., Personal Adjustment in Old Age, Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949; Ruth Albrecht, "The Social Roles of Old People," Journal of Gerontology, 6 (April, 1951), pp. 138-145; and Albrecht, "Social Roles in the Prevention of Senility," Journal of Gerontology, 6 (October, 1951), pp. 380-386; Jean O. Britton and Joseph H. Britton, "Factors Related to the Adjustment of Retired Y.M.C.A. Secretaries," Journal of Gerontology, 6 (January, 1951), pp. 34-38; Joseph H. Britton, "The Personal Adjustment of Retired School Teachers," Journal of Gerontology, 8 (July, 1953), pp. 333-338; Margery J. Mack, "The Personal Adjustment of Chronically Ill Old People Under Home Care," Nursing Research, 1 (June, 1952), pp. 9-30; Ethel Shanas, "The Personal Adjustment of Recipients of Old Age Assistance," Journal of Gerontology, 5 (July, 1950), pp. 249-253.

² Notably Ju-Shu Pan, "Personal Adjustment of Old People in Church Homes for the Aged," Geriatrics, 5 (May-June, 1950), pp. 166-170; Pan, "Factors in the Personal Adjustment of Old People in Protestant Homes for the Aged," American Sociological Review, 16 (June, 1951), pp. 379-381; and Pan, "A Comparison of Factors in the Per-

no study, as far as could be ascertained, has been made of the personal adjustment of an aged population living in proprietary nursing homes and homes for the aged, as compared with a non-institutional population selected from the same community.³ These considerations, combined with the increased interest in standards of care and physical standards in homes for the aged and nursing homes throughout the United States,⁴ led to the present study.

The objective of the study was to analyze adjustment differentials between a group of aged persons living in nursing homes and a second group not thus institutionalized, when

sonal Adjustment of Old People in the Protestant Church Homes for the Aged and Old People Living Outside of Institutions," *The Journal of Social Psy*chology, 35 (May, 1952), pp. 195-203.

³ Mack, op. cit., compared her sample of chronically ill old people in their own homes with a "normal" group; however, her sample was drawn from Chicago, the "normal" group from Plainville, popu-

lation about 6,000.

*The 1950 amendments to the Federal Social Security Act [U. S. 81st Congress, Public Law 735, Sections 2(a)(10), 1002(a)(12), and 1402(a)(11)] provided that each state have a licensing law for nursing homes and related institutions in operation by July 1, 1953, which law had to meet minimum Federal requirements, or Federal funds could be withdrawn from Old Age Assistance payments to persons living in such institutions.

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both groups were selected from the same community, in this instance, Austin, Texas. At the time the study began, there were thirty nursing homes in Austin; twenty-two participated in the study.

Several factors were studied. However, attention was concentrated upon the following factors as they related to the adjustment of residents of nursing homes and homes for the aged: (1) the social class of the resident, (2) the past adjustment in life of the resident, (3) the physical condition of the nursing home, (4) the attitudes of the nursing home operator. The relationship of the first two factors to the adjustment of the nonnursing home population was also investigated and results compared.

The concept of personal adjustment developed by Cavan and her associates was used in this study:

Personal adjustment to ageing, or to other changes in one's self or one's environment, may be defined as the individual's restructuring of his attitudes and behavior in response to a new situation in such a way as to integrate the expression of his aspirations with the expectations and demands of society.⁷

Social adjustment, the processes involved in revising social expectations and patterns of interaction so that personal adjustment is facilitated, lays the background and gives the context to personal adjustment. In order to make the present study comparable in some respects to previous personal adjustment studies, the questionnaire developed by Cavan and her associates, entitled "Your Activities and Attitudes," was used.

SAMPLING

To obtain factual data about the nursing homes, their patient or resident capacity, age and sex of residents, etc., a questionnaire for nursing home operators was constructed. This questionnaire also contained an attitude test for the operators.8 The mailed questionnaire was sent to all operators; it included a request for a list of the age and sex of all residents of the home and a statement from the operator regarding which residents were able and willing to have a personal interview. The "nursing home sample" was composed of those residents the operators considered capable of interview.9 A sample of similar age-sex composition was selected from the poll tax exemption list for Austin for the year 1952. This sample was used as the "control sample." The control sample was stratified by census tracts, so that the sample contained the same percentage from each census tract that the particular tract contained of the total population aged 60 and over of Austin, as computed from the 1950 census.

Each sample originally contained one hundred respondents. However, due to deaths

⁹ For a statement of some of the difficulties encountered in obtaining random, or even representative, samples of aged populations, see Robert J. Havighurst, "Problems of Sampling and Interviewing in Studies of Old People," *Journal of Gerontology*, 5 (April, 1950), pp. 158-167.

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⁸ Fifty-one statements were ranked by judges on a seven-point scale expressing appreciation or depreciation of the nursing home profession and the patients of nursing homes, in accordance with the Thurstone technique of "equal-appearing" intervals. (See L. L. Thurstone and E. J. Chave, The Measurement of Attitude, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929.) The eighteen judges included: eight college professors (six sociologists, one statistician, one social work director), one anthropologist, two business administrators, one high school teacher, one journalist, one laboratory technician, one nursing home operator, one practicing psychologist, one public health nurse, and one social case worker. There were nine men and nine womer, including two high school graduates, four college graduates, and twelve with graduate degrees. Five judges were single, eleven married, one divorced, and one widowed. Four were aged 20-29, six aged 30-39, three 40-49, three 50-59, and two 60-69. After ranking, a scale value was computed for each of the fiftyone items and quartile values obtained to determine ambiguity; statements having a Q value of .5 or less were retained. Fifteen statements fell into this category. The responses of the operators to these fifteen statements were scaled, using the Cornell technique; the attitude test contained two dimensions, each of which produced a Coefficient of Reproducibility of .90 scaled independently. One set of seven statements related to operation of a nursing home as a business or profession; the other set of eight questions related to the patients or residents of the home.

⁵ All the homes but two were proprietary homes; the exceptions were homes partially supported by groups of church women with Community Chest assistance.

⁶ This high degree of participation seems to be a reflection of the general co-operative attitude of the nursing home operators in this city; throughout the study, most of them were very helpful and interested.

⁷ Cavan, op. cit., p. 11.

and mobility among the nursing home population, and to overestimation on the part of the operators of physical and mental capabilities of some of the residents, only seventyeight respondents were obtained from the nursing home sample. This comprised a 31 per cent sample of the two hundred fifty-two residents of all homes in Austin. For all residents of all homes, the age range was 54-102 years, and the sex ratio was 62. The mean age was 77.9 years. The nursing home sample of seventy-eight persons had a mean age of 76.4 years, and a sex ratio of 66. The control sample, matched by age and sex categories with the nursing home sample, had a mean age of 76.9 years and a sex ratio of 64. Both samples compared favorably with the age and sex distribution of older persons in Austin as a whole: for persons over 60 years, the sex ratio in Austin was 75.

Social Characteristics of the Samples. The control sample contained a large percentage of persons who were married and living with their spouses (61 per cent). Only 4 per cent of the nursing home sample reported themselves married; of these, only one couple lived together in the nursing home. Nursing home residents included about twice as many never married persons as those not living in nursing homes; nursing home residents included more than twice as many separated, widowed, or divorced persons as non-nursing home residents. Furthermore, the median number of living children reported by nursing home residents was only 1.1, compared with 3.4 for the control sample.

The selection of the control sample from poll tax exemptions probably biased the educational level of these persons; in any event, the median school years completed for the control sample was 9.5, compared with 7.3

for the nursing home sample.

Most of the control sample had lived in Austin for many years: 91 per cent of them for twenty years or more, 5 per cent from eleven to nineteen years, and only 4 per cent ten years or less. In the nursing home sample, 24 per cent had lived in Austin five years or less; 9 per cent from six to ten years, 9 per cent from eleven to nineteen years, and 58 per cent twenty years or more.

Of the control sample respondents not living with a spouse, 14 per cent, mostly female, lived with adult children; 10 per cent of the women and 3 per cent of the men lived alone. Eleven per cent, all women, lived with relatives other than children; one woman lived with a friend. As far as satisfaction with the present living arrangement was concerned, 87 per cent of the control sample was well or fairly well satisfied. However, almost three-fourths, 72 per cent, of the nursing home sample was similarly satisfied. In terms of the old "poor farm" concept of nursing homes, this is surprising.

The nursing home sample as a whole felt more secure financially, despite the fact that not so many of them had multiple sources of income as did the control sample; 50 per cent of the nursing home sample had only one source of income, while only 31 per cent of the control sample was so limited.

Eighty-one per cent of the nursing home sample and 86 per cent of the control sample were church members. Both samples were predominantly Protestant; only 2 per cent of the nursing home sample and 12 per cent of the control sample were Catholic. There were no Jews. Despite over-all higher church membership in the control sample, almost twice as many of them as in the nursing home sample had no religious preference at all (5 per cent compared with 2 per cent).

To summarize: the control sample contained far more persons presently married or ever married than the nursing home sample, and had more than three times as many living children. The control sample had a higher educational level, and a much longer length of Austin residence than the nursing home sample, indicating less mobility. Both samples were, as a whole, fairly well satisfied with their present living conditions. The nursing home sample felt more secure financially, despite the fact of fewer sources of income. Both samples were predominantly Protestant, and while there was over-all higher church membership in the control sample, more of them had no religious preference at all than in the nursing home sample.

HYPOTHESES

In null form, the major hypothesis stated that there is no difference in the personal adjustment level (as measured by the score on the "Your Attitudes" section of the questionnaire) in the nursing home sample and tion ing cord Chair Scor dices respond the

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"hap ease score betw justn scorin ment in the control sample. No effort was made to determine age, sex, or racial differences, although both samples contained Negroes and Latin-Americans; the two groups were grossly compared as to adjustment level. The following null hypotheses were set up, in line with the major hypothesis. There is no difference in:

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- 1. Adjustment level between those in the lower and in the upper social classes. 10
- Adjustment to old age between those who have had a good past adjustment in life and those who have not.¹¹
- 3. The adjustment level between persons who have more than one serious physical problem, more than one "neurotic" symptom, and who are dissatisfied with their health, and those who have fewer physical or "neurotic" problems and express satisfaction with their health.
- Personal adjustment level between those who have frequent contacts with their families, friends, and with young people, and those who do not.
- The adjustment level of employed older persons and those not employed.
- 6. The adjustment level of persons having

five or more leisure activities and those having four or less such activities.

- The adjustment level of persons who read the Bible frequently and attend church services often and those who do not.
- The adjustment level of persons who feel useful and those who do not.
- The level of adjustment of nursing home residents who are satisfied with their living conditions and those who are not.
- 10. The adjustment level of persons living in a nursing home which has a high physical plant rating and of those living in one with a low physical plant rating.¹²
- 11. The adjustment level of persons living in a nursing home where the operator has a high attitude score and in one where the operator has a lower attitude score.

Hypotheses 1 through 8 were tested for differences between the two samples studied, and, when found significant, further tested for differences between respondents whose scores were below the median adjustment score for the particular sample (low adjustment level) and those whose scores were at the median or higher (high adjustment level). Hypotheses 9 through 11 were, of course, limited to the nursing home sample and similarly tested.

PROCEDURE

The Adult Attitude Inventory of "Your Activities and Attitudes Questionnaire" was used as the measure of personal adjustment. This procedure operationally defines personal adjustment as that characteristic measured by the attitude test. The Attitude In-

¹⁰ It was impossible to obtain accurate information which could have been used to place the nursing home residents in a particular social class according to W. Lloyd Warner's Index of Status Characteristics; therefore, the Occupational Prestige Scores developed by Paul K. Hatt were used as indices of social class placement for both groups of respondents. See Paul K. Hatt, "Stratification in the Mass Society," American Sociological Review, 15 (April, 1950), pp. 216-222; Hatt, "Occupation and Social Stratification," American Journal of Sociology, 55 (May, 1950), pp. 533-543; also National Opinion Research Center, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," in Reinhard Bendix and S. M. Lipset (eds.), Class, Status and Power, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953, pp. 411-426. Thanks are due E. Gartly Jaco, who made available unpublished data which facilitated the use of the Occupational Prestige Scores.

¹¹ An index of past adjustment was developed from some of the questions in the "Your Activities and Attitudes" questionnaire; this index contained some items arbitrarily selected, and some of the same items used by Mack, op. cit. The index included factors of health, marriage and family, recreational interests, earlier life, and attitudes toward life in general, i.e., satisfaction with life and "happiness." The index was arbitrarily scored for ease in machine tabulation; the minimum possible score was zero, the maximum 18. The breaking point between a "lower" and a "higher" level of past adjustment was arbitrarily set at 10. The method of scoring made understatement, rather than overstatement, of past adjustment in life most likely.

¹² The rating of the physical condition of the homes (physical plant rating) was done by a local inspector of the Austin-Travis County Health Unit. There is not at present a quantitative scale used by the Health Unit in determining if a home does or does not meet minimum standards, or by how much it may exceed them. The ratings were made on an hypothetical scale with limits from zero to 100; a home meeting bare minimum standards was given a score of 50, with those exceeding or not meeting standards rated accordingly higher or lower. The factors considered in making the ratings were: the number of patients for which the home was licensed and extent of overcrowding; conformance to minimum standards of plumbing, electric wiring, sanitation, space requirements, fire hazards, personnel, ventilation, general construction, age of building; location of home and general neighborhood, i.e., whether it is in a quiet, safe location for old people; zoning requirements; general housekeeping and nursing care.

ventory contains eight sections, each composed of seven statements, of which three statements indicate favorable adjustment if agreed with, three show unfavorable adjustment, and one is neutral in connotation. The sections relate to the following areas of the individual's life: health, friends, work, economic security, religion, feeling of usefulness, general happiness, and family. The maximum possible score is 48, the minimum is zero. The level of adjustment is indicated by the numerical score. The median score for each sample computed separately was arbitrarily considered the dividing line between a "high" and a "low" level of personal ad-

justment. The median for the nursing home sample was 24. The median for the control sample was 33.

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To test the major hypothesis, a mean score was computed for the two groups in combination, and the mean considered arbitrarily the dividing point for "high" and "low" adjustment level in the combined samples. This mean score was 28. If the major hypothesis could not be overthrown, it could be assumed that the two groups of older people selected for the study were from the same statistical universe of older people in their personal adjustment, and that there were probably no important differences be-

TABLE 1. FACTORS DIFFERING SIGNIFICANTLY BETWEEN NURSING HOME SAMPLE AND CONTROL SAMPLE

		sing Home	_	Control ample	Chi-	Phi
Factor	N Per Cen		N Per Cent		Square	$(r\phi)$
Level of adjustment*					25.68	.60
"Low"	54	63.5	31	36.5		
"High"	24	25.8	69	74.2		
Past adjustment in life†					6.66	.31
"Low"	32	58.2	23	41.8		
"High"	46	37.4	77	62.6		
Number of serious physical problems†					7.10	.31
0-1	25	32.5	52	67.5		
2 or more	53	52.5	48	47.5		
Number of physical difficulties*					31.86	.67
0-1	14	18.9	60	81.1		
2 or more	64	61.5	40	38.5		
Time bed-ridden during the last year*					15.18	.47
2 weeks or more	38	64.4	21	35.6	20110	
Few days or none	40	33.6	79	66.4		
Number of "neurotic" symptoms*		0010	.,	00.1	13.56	.44
0-1	20	27.4	53	72.6	10.00	
2 or more	58	55.2	47	44.8		
Frequency of contact with family*	-	0012	**	11.0	17.11	.52
Once a month or less	31	67.4	15	32.6	27.11	
Once a week or more	38	31.9	81	68.1		
Frequency of contact with friends*		0217	0.	00.1	16.37	.49
Less often than at age 55	68	53.5	59	46.5	10.57	. 42
Same or more than at age 55	10	20.0	40	80.0		
Frequency of contact with young people†		20.0	40	80.0	8.14	.34
Once a month or less	60	52.6	54	47.4	0.14	.34
Once a week or more	18	30.0	42	70.0		
Reported number of leisure activities*	10	30.0	42	70.0	17.64	.50
1-4	66	54.5	55	45.5	17.04	.50
5 or more	12	21.0	45	79.0		
Reported Bible reading*	12	21.0	43	79.0	15.59	.47
Less than once a week	42	63.6	24	36.4	13.39	.41
Once a week or oftener	36	33.0	73	67.0		
Reported church attendance*	50	55.0	13	07.0	32.26	.67
Less than once a month	63	62.4	38	37.6	32.20	.07
Once a month or more	15	19.5	62	80.5		
Feeling of usefulness*	13	19.3	02	80.5	20 65	
"Usefulness" score 0–3	60	E0 2	42	41 7	20.67	.54
"Usefulness" score 4–6	60	58.3	43	41.7		
Osciumess score 4-0	18	24.0	57	76.0		

^{*} P less than .001.

[†] P less than .01.

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The logic underlying this procedure is that if the personal adjustment level is significantly different for a sample of nursing home residents and a sample of non-nursing home residents, matched with regard to age and sex, then certain factors impinging upon personal adjustment should show concomitant differentials. If these factors are important to personal adjustment, there should be differences between the respondents within each sample who manifest a high level of personal adjustment and those whose adjustment scores are low.

The chi-square test of association was used to determine whether the two samples were significantly different as to personal adjustment level. The chi-square test was also used to determine the association between the adjustment score and the other factors, i.e., social class, past adjustment in life, etc., within each sample. Briefly, the chi-square test was used to determine independence between the two groups, and within each group to determine the association of the several factors to adjustment score. The .05 level of significance was considered necessary for rejection of a null hypothesis. The phi coefficient, which gives an estimate of the correlation coefficient (r), was computed as an indication of the degree of association of the two factors being tested.

FINDINGS

The first item in Table 1 shows that the major hypothesis was overthrown at the .001 level of significance; the additional hypotheses were therefore tested.

There was no social class difference between the two samples, although this factor was found to have a tendency to be related to adjustment level in other studies.13 The factor of past adjustment in life was significant not only between the two samples, but within each sample. This factor was the most significant one within the nursing home sample, having an estimate of $r(r\phi)$ of .68.

TABLE 2. FACTORS DIFFERING SIGNIFICANTLY BETWEEN "HIGH" AND "LOW" ADJUSTMENT LEVELS, NURS-ING HOME SAMPLE

		Level of A	djustm	ent	Chi-	Phi
		"Low"		"High"		
Factor	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	Square	$(r\phi)$
Past adjustment in life*					14.62	.68
"Low"	20	62.5	12	37.5		
"High"	15	32.6	31	67.4		
Number of "neurotic" symptoms†					5.12	.42
0-1	4	20.0	16	80.0		
2 or more	31	53.4	27	46.6		
Frequency of contact with friends‡					5.58	.46
Less often than at age 55	34	50.0	34	50.0		
Same or more than at age 55	1	10.0	9	90.0		
Frequency of contact with young people†					4.87	.41
Once a month or less	31	51.7	29	48.3		
Once a week or more	4	22.2	14	77.8		
Reported number of leisure activities†					4.52	.41
1-4	33	50.0	33	50.0		
5 or more	2	16.7	10	83.3		
Reported church attendance†				0010	4.63	.41
Less than once a month	32	50.1	31	49.9	1.00	
Once a month or more	3	20.0	12	80.0		
Feeling of usefulness*					12.16	.64
"Usefulness" score 0-3	34	56.7	26	43.3		
"Usefulness" score 4-6	1	5.6	17	94.4		
Satisfaction with living arrangement§					9.63	.57
Satisfied	19	33.9	37	66.1		
Dissatisfied	16	88.9	6	11.1		

^{*} P less than .001.

¹³ For example, see Mack, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

[†] P less than .05.

[‡] P less than .02.

[§] P less than .01.

sclerosis, etc.

The nursing home sample had a significantly greater number of serious physical problems,14 physical difficulties,15 and "neurotic" symptoms, 16 than did the control sample, and was bed-ridden for a longer period

14 "Serious physical problems" include such

things as poor sight or blindness, deafness, crippled

limbs, heart and stomach trouble, general rheu-

matic stiffness, high blood pressure, cancer, arterio-

of time during the past year (Table 1). The fact of being bed-ridden was not significant to the personal adjustment level of either sample. "Neurotic" symptoms were important in distinguishing "high" and "low" adjustment levels within the nursing home sample (Table 2); the number of serious physical problems, physical difficulties, and "neurotic" symptoms were all significant factors in adjustment to the control sample (Table 3). There was no difference between the samples with regard to self-rating of health, despite the objective differences found in health factors.

15 "Physical difficulties" include shortness of breath, nervous breakdown, difficulty in elimination, head and back aches, etc.

16 "Neurotic symptoms" include sleeplessness and bad dreams, feeling "blue" and nervous, lack of appreciation of food, worry about health, forgetfulness, dislike of noise, etc.

The factors tested by Hypotheses 4 through 7 might easily be combined to form

TABLE 3. FACTORS DIFFERING SIGNIFICANTLY BETWEEN "HIGH" AND "LOW" ADJUSTMENT LEVELS, CONTROL SAMPLE

* *		"Low"		"High"	Chi-	Phi $(r\phi)$
Factor	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	Square	
Past adjustment in life*					9.88	.51
"Low"	19	82.6	4	17.4		
"High"	35	45.5	42	54.5		
Number of serious physical problems*					8.09	.45
0-1	21	40.4	31	59.6		
2 or more	33	68.7	15	31.3		
Number of physical difficulties†					4.91	.35
0-1	27	45.0	33	55.0		
2 or more	27	67.5	13	32.5		
Number of "neurotic" symptoms‡					12.04	.54
0-1	20	37.7	33	62.3		
2 or more	34	72.3	13	27.7		
Frequency of contact with friends‡					24.09	.78
Less often than at age 55	41	69.5	18	30.5		
Same or more than at age 55	12	30.0	28	70.0		
Frequency of contact with young people‡					13.06	.58
Once a month or less	38	70.4	16	29.6		
Once a week or more	14	33.3	28	66.7		
Present employment (male only) §					6.22	. 63
Full or part-time	4	22.2	14	77.8	0.00	
None	13	61.9	8	38.1		
Reported number of leisure activities§					6.43	.40
1-4	36	65.5	19	34.5	0.10	. 10
5 or more	18	40.0	27	60.0		
Reported Bible reading†				00.0	5.33	.38
Less than once a week	18	75.0	6	25.0	0.00	
Once a week or oftener	35	47.9	38	52.1		
Reported church attendance‡	-		00		18.76	.68
Less than once a month	31	81.6	7	18.4	10.70	.00
Once a month or more	23	37.1	39	62.9		
Feeling of usefulness‡	20		0,	00.7	31.17	.88
"Usefulness" score 0–3	37	86.0	6	14.0	31.11	.00
"Usefulness" score 4–6	17	29.8	40	70.2		

^{*} P less than .01.

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[†] P less than .05.

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[§] P less than .02.

an index of social isolation.17 Table 1 shows there is a significant difference between the samples with regard to all these factors (with the exception of present employment, which could not be tested for the nursing home sample since none of the respondents was employed). The control sample has more frequent contacts with family, friends, and young people, reports a larger number of leisure activities, and attends church and reads the Bible more often than the nursing home sample. Of importance to a "high" adjustment level in the nursing home sample were the factors of contacts with friends and young people, and church attendance (Table 2). These same three factors, plus the additional ones of present employment (for men), a large number of leisure activities, and Bible reading, were significant within the control sample (Table 3). Rather surprising was the finding that frequency of contacts with the family was not related to a "high" adjustment level within either sample; apparently maintenance of contact with friends and young people (who may or may not be relatives) was more important than family contacts (i.e., with children, siblings). The data on this item showed that of the ninety-six respondents in the control sample having living families, only fifteen cases saw family members less than once a week; in the nursing home sample, on the other hand, almost half the cases saw their families less than once a week, regardless of adjustment level. Thus contacts merely with the family do not seem to be critical to personal adjustment.

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A feeling of usefulness was a most important factor to both groups. The $r\phi$ of .88 for the control sample was the highest of all the factors tested; for the nursing home sample, the $r\phi$ of .64 was second only to the factor of past adjustment in life. Of interest is the fact that very few respondents in either group scored the maximum of six points on the "usefulness" section of the Attitude Inventory. An overwhelming majority disagreed particularly with the statement, "This

is the most useful period of my life." Although the control sample generally felt more useful than the nursing home sample, neither group believed that the declining years are the "golden age" of usefulness.

Turning to the last three hypotheses, which deal only with nursing home respondents, the factor of satisfaction with living arrangements was found to be significant (Table 2). The nursing home respondents were asked to express agreement or disagreement with the following two statements: "I am satisfied with the appearance of this nursing home," and "I am very fond of the person who operates this home." An overwhelming majority agreed with both statements. Apparently dissatisfaction is expressed not with the particular nursing home or operator; the old person just doesn't want to live in any nursing home. Most of them expressed a desire to live with an adult child or alone, even when stating they were "fairly well satisfied" with the nursing home.

To test Hypothesis 10, the five homes with a physical plant rating of 85 or higher and the six homes with a rating of 65 or lower were tested, with adjustment scores of the respondents from these eleven homes dichotomized at the median in the same way as in testing the other hypotheses. Although the cell frequencies indicated some tendency for those persons living in homes with a high rating to have a higher adjustment level, the null hypothesis was not rejected. For Hypothesis 11, the five homes in which the operators scored highest on the nursing home operators' attitude tests and the five homes in which the operators scored lowest were selected, and respondents' adjustment levels similarly dichotomized. Again there was some tendency toward a higher adjustment level in homes where the operator had a higher attitude score, but the tendency was not statistically significant.18

¹⁷ See R. E. L. Faris, "Cultural Isolation and the Schizophrenic Personality," American Journal of Sociology, 39 (September, 1934), pp. 155-169; E. Gartly Jaco, "The Social Isolation Hypothesis and Schizophrenia," American Sociological Review, 19 (October, 1954), pp. 567-577.

¹⁸ The attitude test for nursing home operators is a crude instrument, and was used in this study without tests for reliability or validity. It must be given more testing before it can be considered a good measurement of operators' attitudes. Furthermore, the operators in Austin seem to have relatively homogeneous attitudes relative to their status as nursing home operators, patients and patient care, and learning more about home operation and better nursing methods. They may be unusual

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study is a gross comparison of the personal adjustment level of two samples of older people, i.e., a nursing home population in Austin, Texas, and a non-institutional population in the same city. The two samples differed widely with regard to certain social characteristics, such as marital status, number of living children, educational level, and length of Austin residence.

The study showed definitely there is a significant difference in personal adjustment level between nursing home residents and non-nursing home residents of the same community; the nursing home residents had a significantly lower level of adjustment. Social class differentials were not statistically significant in determining nursing home residence; as many higher class respondents were found among nursing home residents as among non-nursing home residents.

There is a difference between the two samples with regard to past adjustment in life. Since present adjustment is clearly a function of past adjustment, it seems logical to conclude that persons become nursing home residents because of some failure to adjust to a changing life situation, rather than that nursing home living in itself is a "cause" of poor adjustment. This conclusion is borne out by the negative findings regarding the relationship between adjustment level and physical condition of the nursing home, and

between adjustment level and attitude of the nursing home operator.

The nursing home sample in fact had quantitatively more serious physical problems, physical difficulties, and "neurotic" symptoms; good physical and mental health has been found related to good adjustment in most previous studies. The health differential is undoubtedly of importance in the adjustment differences between the two samples, even though self-rating of health was not significantly different between the samples.

The nursing home sample was significantly more socially isolated than the non-nursing home sample; whether this was the case before nursing home admittance has not been demonstrated, but it is highly likely because of the past adjustment differentials. Tentatively, the conclusion is advanced that there is a direct relationship between social isolation and nursing home admittance.

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Personal adjustment seems to depend upon a multiplicity of factors, rather than upon any one critical factor. The intensity of the differences between the two samples is never very high; estimates of r are seldom above .50. This consideration reinforces the conclusion that nursing home living per se is not causally related to a low adjustment level, but that a multitude of factors in the past experience and adjustment of the individual contributes to his present adjustment, and that nursing home residents tend to have significantly poorer past adjustment.

among groups of operators in these respects. In any event, the range in attitude scores was not wide, and only twenty-two operators participated. It is possible that the tendency for adjustment level of patients to vary with attitude score of the operator might be more pronounced with a more precise attitude measurement and a larger population of operators and patients.

¹⁹ See Cavan, op. cit.; Mack, op. cit.; Britton and Britton, op. cit.; L. Pearl Gardner, "Attitudes and Activities of the Middle-Aged and Aged," Geriatrics, 4 (January-February, 1949), pp. 33-50. These are just a few of the studies which have reported such findings.

MATE SELECTION ON THE BASIS OF PERSONALITY TYPE: A STUDY UTILIZING AN EMPIRICAL TYPOLOGY OF PERSONALITY*

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INTRODUCTION. The hypothesis tested in this study was derived from R. F. Winch's theory of complementary needs in mate selection.1 This theory states that in the American middle class ". . . each individual seeks within his or her field of eligibles for that person who gives the greatest promise of providing him or her with maximum need gratification." 2 "Maximum need gratification" is hypothesized to occur between two people whose need patterns are different rather than similar. Further, it is hypothesized that to achieve maximum gratification the nature of the difference in need patterns of the persons involved will not be random but will be complementary. Two possible types of complementary patterns between marital partners have been envisaged: one is based on difference in intensity of identical needs, e.g., the first person shows a strong need to dominate and the second person shows little or no need to dominate; and the second type is based on difference in kind of need (intensity held constant), e.g., the first person shows a strong dependency need and the second person shows a strong need to do and care for

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In the present study only part of this hypothesis has been tested, namely that

the need patterns of the persons involved will be different rather than similar. No attempt was made to specify the nature of the differences, i.e., to specify that the differences would be complementary according to either of the two possible types mentioned above.³

The formulation of the present problem, however, grew out of an earlier attempt to test the "complementary" aspect of the theory.4 In that study pairs of needs hypothesized to be complementary were tested by correlating husbands' scores on one need with wives' scores on the paired need. Three hundred eighty-eight such pairs were tested. While the results of these tests were generally in support of the hypothesis, the approach was found limiting in that it involved working only with single pairs of needs. It seemed likely that patterns or configurations of needs rather than single needs might be important in the choice situation. The "pair" technique did not provide a way for determining this. A technique was required which would allow for the observation of simultaneous variation in the total number of variables being studied. Another advantage of such a technique might be to provide a more general test of the hypothesis than was possible using the method of single pairs. The factor analytic technique is the method used here to achieve these two purposes.

Procedure Used and Main Hypothesis Tested. Personality information was obtained from a sample of twenty-five young married couples. At the time these persons were interviewed at least one member of

^{*}Revised version of paper read at the annual meetings of the American Sociological Society, September, 1954. The research on which the paper is based was done in 1952 and 1953 while the author was a Research Fellow of the National Institutes of Mental Health, U. S. Public Health Service. The author wishes also to express his gratitude to Professor Robert F. Winch for his help and guidance during the execution of the study.

¹Cf. R. F. Winch, *The Modern Family*, New York: Holt, 1952, esp. Chapter 15; and Thomas and Virginia Ktsanes, "The Theory of Complementary Needs in Mate Selection," in R. F. Winch and Robert McGinnis (eds.), *Selected Studies in Marriage and the Family*, New York: Holt, 1953, pp. 435-53.

² R. F. Winch, op. cit., p. 406.

³ The reason why complementary patterns were not tested can be found in the discussion of method.

⁴ Cf. R. F. Winch, Thomas and Virginia Ktsanes, "The Theory of Complementary Needs in Mate Selection: An Analytic and Descriptive Study," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (April, 1954), pp. 241-49.

each couple was an undergraduate in selected schools of Northwestern University. The sample, with minor exceptions, was homogeneous with respect to race, age, socio-economic background (middle class as judged by father's occupation), lack of ethnic ties, and absence of children. All couples had been married two years or less.⁵

Among the materials gathered from these fifty persons were their responses to a series of forty-five open-ended questions. The questions were designed to tap information relevant to fifteen personality needs which

had been selected for use.

The fifteen needs are similar to some of those reported in Henry A. Murray's Explorations in Personality.⁶ They include such items as need abasement (to surrender or to deprecate the self), need dominance (to control others), and need succorance (to be dependent on others). In addition, included in the list of fifteen were some general traits such as emotionality (the level of expressivity of the person) and vicariousness (the tendency to have a need satisfied through the action of another person).⁷

Most of these fifteen variables were dichotomized with respect to direction of expression—"within" the marriage and "without" the marriage. Some of the fifteen were further dichotomized with respect to direct or "overt" expression and indirect or "covert" expression. With these dichotomies and double-dichotomies there were forty-four categories to be rated. These forty-four categories are referred to as the sub-variables of the study.8

The responses of the subjects were analyzed and rated in terms of the forty-four sub-variables by two judges working independently of each other. The judges rated each subject on each sub-variable on a 1

to 5-point scale of intensity, 5 indicating most intense degree of a need and 1 indicating least intense degree. The mean of their two ratings was used as the best estimate of a subject's rating on a particular sub-variable.⁹

Using the data described the following hypothesis was tested: Persons of different psychological types tend to choose each

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other as marriage partners.

The first step in this test involved the derivation of a typology of personality. This was done empirically by means of Q-type factor analysis, which involves factoring a matrix of correlations between persons.10 For example, in this study each of the fifty persons in the sample was correlated with every other person on the basis of their forty-four need ratings. In other words, the N in each correlation was 44. The factors extracted in Q-type analysis account for clusters of persons who fall together because of some underlying similarity. A person may load on only one factor or on several factors. Those factors on which he does load are the components of his factor pattern. Persons who show the same factor pattern constitute a personality type. Factor patterns that are not duplicated in the sample are said to be idiosyncratic.

A Corollary Hypothesis. Earlier it was pointed out that the complementary aspect of Winch's theory could not be tested in this study. The reason for this should now be clear, since it could not be known beforehand just what factors would be extracted or what personality types would emerge in order to hypothesize complementary relationships. However, it was possible to set up a corollary hypothesis: Persons who show high loadings on a factor tend to select as mates persons who show low or negative loadings on the same factor.

Results Relevant to the Main Hypothesis. Five factors were extracted; however only the first four of these were used in subsequent analysis. All loadings on the fifth

⁵ The limitation on length of marriage was made in order to study couples as close as possible to the time of selection, *i.e.*, marriage, in order to control and to minimize the effect of marital interaction on personality.

⁶ Henry A. Murray et al., Explorations in Personality, New York: Oxford University Press, 1938.

⁷ A complete list of these needs with definitions is given in R. F. Winch, op. cit., pp. 408-409. In that list need sex is included. That need was not rated from material on which this study is based.

⁸ The reasons for these particular breakdowns are given in R. F. Winch, Thomas and Virginia Ktsanes, op. cit., p. 243.

⁹ The mean correlation between raters over all forty-four sub-variables was approximately .601 for sexes combined. These correlations ranged from .332 to .845.

¹⁰ In this problem Thurstone's centroid method of factoring was used. See L. L. Thurstone, *Multiple Factor Analysis*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947.

TABLE 1. ROTATED FACTOR LOADINGS *

		Rotated	l Factors				Rotate	d Factors	
Husbands	A	В	С	D	Wives	A	В	С	D
1M†	.335	.418	.496	.289	1F†	166	.737	.117	372
2 M	072	.471	.363	055	2 F	.039	.819	.073	.051
3 M	.754	.018	133	.035	3 F	108	.231	.680	373
4M	143	.645	.040	.186	4F	.685	.062	.003	.361
5 M	.004	.764	241	029	5 F	.487	.197	036	.579
6M	092	.647	055	.118	6 F	.367	026	.458	.099
7M	.440	.420	.359	027	7 F	.600	.538	143	.099
8M	.218	.153	090	.527	8 F	037	.499	.307	.199
9M	.482	.133	.283	.196	9 F	079	.782	137	084
10M	.765	035	.022	.061	10F	.252	.794	035	.211
11M	.115	.712	380	- 075	11F	.089	.075	.717	.125
12M	.321	.320	.575	.062	12 F	.347	.359	633	087
13M	009	.739	.085	.005	13 F	.487	.492	353	.417
14M	.525	215	238	.613	14F	070	.807	.048	115
15M	.367	.638	.356	.079	15F	.592	071	.140	.183
16M	.078	.790	078	047	16 F	.124	.065	.682	110
17M	.647	.499	253	.025	17F	.074	.489	.613	314
18M	.740	.351	135	.042	18F	.087	.606	.296	300
19M	.376	.306	.335	.361	19 F	.074	.790	.127	.083
20 M	.790	.423	.051	043	20 F	.460	.191	.531	186
21M	.007	.811	.109	127	21F	.372	.479	111	. 506
22M	.607	.061	.098	.463	22 F	149	.627	.515	051
23 M	.558	.637	106	.026	23 F	.172	.460	.443	435
24M	.576	.341	.209	.128	24F	.195	.617	207	110
25M	.210	.802	.309	110	25 F	.566	.488	040	.048

* Loadings after the ninth rotation.

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† Corresponding husbands and wives show the same number, as 1M and 1F.

factor were small; before rotation only one person showed a loading above .300. Thus, this factor appeared to have little explanatory value for the sample as a whole, and it was dropped from consideration after the fourth rotation.¹¹ Table 1 shows the factor loadings on the four factors after nine rotations.¹² Two of the factors, C and D, are bi-polar.

The factors were named from clues obtained by determining the sub-variables which differentiated the top third from the bottom third of the distribution of loadings on each factor.¹³ Those sub-variables which yielded t's significant at the 1 per cent level of confidence were considered to represent the core of each factor. On this basis the factors were named as follows: ¹⁴

11 If the problem of this study had been to isolate all personality dimensions characteristic of this sample in terms of the units studied, factors having explanatory power, *i.e.*, factors showing sizable loadings, for one or few more persons might have been of interest. However, since the factors were to be used to test the complementary need hypothesis and since that hypothesis is concerned only with personality trends which are felt to be quite general in the American middle class, near-idiosyncratic factors were not relevant to the problem at hand. The four factors used accounted for approximately 89 per cent of the estimated total common factor variance.

12 "Simple structure" in Thurstone's sense of the term was not achieved. The structure obtained in this problem is in line with Stephenson's notion of "simplest structure." For an explanation of this concept see William Stephenson, The Study of Behavior, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953, esp. pp. 107 ff.

13 For example, on Factor A persons were ranked by size of loading on the factor. The average rating on each of the forty-four sub-variables used in the study was computed for the sixteen showing the highest loadings and for the sixteen showing the lowest loadings. The significance of the difference between these two means was then computed for each of the sub-variables.

14 What the factors represented or what they were named was in no way crucial for the test of the hypothesis. Attempts to name them were made almost solely out of curiosity to get an idea of the content of the personality dimensions with which we were working. This task has been more directly performed by an R-type factor analysis; see Donald Roos, Complementary Needs in Mate Selection: A Study Based on R-Type Factor Analysis, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1955. At least three of Roos' factors correspond closely to ones identified in the present study.

Factor A—"Yielding Dependency"
Factor B—"Hostile Dominance"
Factor C—"Mature Nurturance"
Factor D—"Neurotic Self-Depreciation"

These four factors were used as the elements of the personality types. Before the types could be specified, however, a criterion had to be established for determining whether or not a particular factor was to be considered an element of an individual's factor pattern. In other words, it was necessary to arrive at a procedure for stating the minimum loading value for inclusion of a factor in a factor pattern. The solution to this problem in studies utilizing factor analysis is necessarily arbitrary. Unlike other statistical techniques, it is not possible to establish significance levels based upon error measurements. For factor analysis, no error measurements are available and little is known about the sampling distribution of the factor loadings.

The procedure adopted involved taking into account only the major factor loadings and thus dropping from consideration those factors which seemed to be of only minor importance in describing a personality. Specifically, the operation was to disregard as elements of a person's factor pattern any loadings which were not at least 60 per cent as great as his highest loading.¹⁵

With this procedure eight personality types were derived. In other words, there were eight combinations of the above four factors which appeared for two or more people. Table 2 shows the factor components of each type and the number of persons ap-

pearing in the type.

From Table 2 it can be seen that the eight types account for forty-four of the fifty persons in the sample. The remaining six persons showed idiosyncratic patterns. These six and their spouses were not considered in the test of the main hypothesis since it was logically impossible for these couples to show the same pattern.

TABLE 2. FACTOR COMPONENTS AND THE NUMBER OF PERSONS APPEARING IN EACH TYPE

Personality Type	Factor	Number in the Type				
	Components	Males	Females	Total		
I	A	6	2	8		
II	В	9	8	17		
III	C	1	3	4		
IV	AB	2	2	4		
V	AC	0	2	2		
VI	AD	2	1	3		
VII	BC	1	3	4		
VIII	ABC	2	0	2		
Total		23	21	44*		

*The remaining 6 persons (2 men and 4 women) showed idiosyncratic patterns.

The distribution of the remaining nineteen couples by type is presented in Table 3. From that table it can be seen that no husband and wife team fell into the same type; no entries appear in the diagonal cells of the table. Thus, at least for the sample, the results are consistent with the main hypothesis.

To generalize beyond the sample, however, it was necessary to find the limits of the true proportion of homogamous marriages in the population from which this sample might have been drawn at a specified level of confidence. The Clopper and Pearson chart for estimating the population proportion with a confidence coefficient of .95 was used for this purpose. With a sample size of nineteen and a proportion of zero, the

Table 3. Classification of Married Couples by Personality Type of the Spouses

Type Into Which Wife Falls	Type Into Which Husband Falls								
	ī	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	Total
I		2							2
II	4					1	1	1	7
III	1	2							3
IV		1						1	2
v	1	1							2
VI		1							1
VII				1		1			2
VIII									0
Total	6	7	0	1	0	2	1	2	19

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¹⁵ Several cutting points were tried, e.g., 50, 60, and 75 per cent. Using the first value, 50 per cent, the number of types resulting was too large given the small sample studied. With 75 per cent the results were almost equivalent to using only one factor (the highest loading) as the determinant of a type. Since we wanted to admit the possibility of mixed types, 60 per cent seemed to be the most suitable figure.

¹⁶ C. J. Clopper and E. S. Pearson, "The Use of Confidence or Fiducial Limits Illustrated in the Case of the Binomial," *Biometrika*, 26 (1954), pp. 404-415.

population value is estimated to be .17.¹⁷ On this basis one can be confident at the 5 per cent level that the sample observed in this study comes from a population in which the proportion of homogamous matching is .17 or less and the proportion of heterogamous matching is .83 or more.

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Results Relevant to the Corollary Hypothesis. To test the corollary hypothesis that persons high on a factor tend to select as mates persons who are low on the same factor, several rank order correlations were computed. Husbands rank ordered by size of loading on a factor were correlated with

TABLE 4. RESULTS OF RANK ORDER CORRELATIONS
BETWEEN HUSBANDS AND WIVES ON THE
SAME FACTOR

Wives		Husbands Factor							
Factor	A	В	С	D					
A	224								
В		433*							
B			293†						
D				103					

^{*} Significant at the .01 level.

† Significant at the .02 level.

wives rank ordered on the same factor. Kendall's tau was then computed for each of the four factors. The results are shown in Table 4.

It can be seen in Table 4 that all four tau values are negative as posited. However, for only two factors, B and C, are the values significant. This suggests that the principle of polar attraction seems to work systematically only with respect to these two factors, and that with respect to the other two factors the trend is in the same direction although not so definitive.

Conclusions. The findings of this study, based upon a sample of recently married, college-age, middle-class couples, indicate that for the population sampled the tendency for an individual to select a spouse unlike himself in total emotional make-up far exceeds the tendency for him to select a spouse like himself in that respect. At the .05 level of confidence the probability for heterogamous choice on these grounds appears to be .83 or more, and the probability for homogamous choice only .17 or less. This finding tends to support the basic premise of Winch's complementary need hypothesis, that the need patterns of marriage partners differ. and, further, specifies the limits within which this hypothesis may be correct.

One attempt to explore the nature of such differences in need patterns indicated that there are tendencies for attraction based on differences in *intensity* of identical needs. According to the findings of this study, however, the principle of polar attraction operates systematically only in the case of some specific need patterns. This suggests that the complementary need hypothesis is a more complicated principle than the mere principle of "opposites attract."

¹⁷ Readings from the Clopper and Pearson chart, as from most graphic presentations, are subject to a slight degree of error. In this problem the computed value for the true proportion of homogamous matching based on this sample result was 15. However, the value obtained from the graphic method has been accepted since it is the more conservative estimate.

THE THEORY OF COMPLEMENTARY NEEDS IN MATE-SELECTION: FINAL RESULTS ON THE TEST OF THE GENERAL HYPOTHESIS *

ROBERT F. WINCH

Northwestern University

HILE recognizing that mate-selection has been found to be homogamous with respect to numerous social characteristics (religion, socio-economic status, etc.), the writer has hypothesized that with respect to individual motivation (or at the psychic level) mate-selection tends to be complementary rather than homogamous. To test this hypothesis the writer has subjected to intensive study twenty-five husbands and their wives.

Last year a preliminary report on the test of the general hypothesis was published, and the findings supported the hypothesis. That report was preliminary in the sense that it was based upon only one of several sets of data. Now all analyses relevant to the general hypothesis have been completed. The purpose of the present paper is to re-

port the findings.

Very simply stated, the design of the test of the general hypothesis is as follows. A set of motivational categories was postulated.² Then in terms of these needs and traits the writer and his associates sought to trace out the implications of the theory of complementary needs by means of a set of specific sub-hypotheses. It was hypothesized that a person high in dominance would be more likely to marry a person low in the same need (type I complementariness) than one who, like himself, was high in that need. Moreover, a person high in dominance would be more likely to marry someone high in deference than someone low in that need

(type II complementariness). On this basis the signs of 388 interspousal correlations were hypothesized.³

For the purpose of the present analysis it is relevant to note that there were three sources of data concerning each spouse:

- (a) An interview structured to elicit evidence on his needs—designated a "need-interview."
- (b) A case-history interview.
- (c) An eight-card thematic apperception test (TAT).

From these three sets of data the following five sets of ratings were derived for each subject on each need (or variable):

- (a) Content analysis of the need-interview (NI₁). Each subject's response to each question in the interview was analyzed to determine to which need or needs it related. Then it was rated. His rating on a variable was the mean of the ratings assigned to individual responses.
- (b) Holistic analysis of the need-interview (NI₂). A statement of the dynamics of the individual's personality was prepared on the basis of the interview considered as a whole. From this picture of the subject, the analyst assigned ratings for each subject on each variable.

(c) Holistic analysis of the case-history (CH). The same procedure as that outlined in (b) was applied to the case-

history interview.

(d) Holistic analysis of the TAT (TAT-C). A similar procedure to that outlined in (b) was employed with the TAT, except that the statements of dynamics

² These motivational categories are listed in Table 2, *ibid*.

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^{*} This investigation was supported by a research grant (MH-439) from the National Institute of Mental Health, United States Public Health Service.

¹ Robert F. Winch, Thomas and Virginia Ktsanes, "The Theory of Complementary Needs in Mate-Selection: An Analytic and Descriptive Study," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (June, 1954), pp. 241–49. A statement of the theory, procedure (including exposition of the "interspousal correlation"), and sample appears on pp. 241–45.

³ We may think of these as 388 specific subhypotheses—44 concerning type I complementariness and 344 concerning type II complementariness. For a summary list of the specific sub-hypotheses, see Tables 1 and 2, *ibid*. A discussion of the deduction of hypotheses and a presentation of findings with respect to type I complementariness appears in: Robert F. Winch, "The Theory of Complementary Needs in Mate-Selection: A Test of One Kind of Complementariness," American Sociological Review, 20 (February, 1955), pp. 52–56.

TABLE 1. CHANCE AND OBSERVED DISTRIBUTIONS OF 388 HYPOTHESIZED CORRELATIONS DERIVED FROM FIVE SETS OF RATINGS: BASED ON ONE-SIDED TEST AT .05 LEVEL*

Number of Correlations		Source of Rating					
	Chance	NIı	NI_2	СН	TAT-C	FC	
Significant in hypothesized direction Other	19.4 368.6	71 317	107 281	11 377	12 376	56 332	
Total	388.0	388	388	388	388	388	
χ² P<		142 .001	412 .001	3.4	2.6	. 001	

* Every correlation is computed from normalized ratings based upon the data denoted in the column heading. Because the sign of each correlation was hypothesized in advance, a one-sided test of significance is appropriate. It follows, of course, that correlations which are significant in the direction contrary to that hypothesized are classified here under "other." Since theoretical frequencies below 5 are regarded as unacceptable for the chi-square test, the chance and observed distributions for the .01 level are not presented. Yates' correction for discontinuity has been applied here as well as in subsequent chi-square analyses involving a single degree of freedom. For each of the correlations reported above: n=25; df=23; r.os=.34.

were criticized in clinical conferences, and the ratings were produced by the consensus of the conference.

(e) Holistic view of a final conference (FC). A five-person conference deliberated on the three statements of dynamics referred to in (b), (c), and (d) above and then produced consensual ratings.⁴

This final report on the test of the general hypothesis consists of a presentation of the distribution of the 388 hypothesized correlations derived from each of these five sets of ratings. The hypothesis is regarded as being supported if the proportion of the 388 correlations which is statistically significant in

the hypothesized direction exceeds the proportion to be expected by chance at the 95 per cent level of confidence. Results of this analysis appear in Table 1.

It will be noted that the numbers of correlations in the hypothesized direction based upon the content analysis of the need-interview (NI₁), upon the holistic analysis of the need-interview (NI₂), and upon the final conference (FC) exceed the numbers to be expected by chance. In each of these three distributions the excess over chance is so great that chance could be expected to produce such deviations no more than once in a thousand times.

From the distributions in Table 1 one might suspect that the case history (CH) and the TAT conference (TAT-C) give sig-

4 The reliability, validity, congruence, and incremental value of these ratings will be considered elsewhere.

Table 2. Chance and Observed Distributions of 388 Hypothesized Correlations Derived From Five Sets of Ratings: Based on Two-Sided Test at .05 Level

Number of Correlations		Source of Rating						
	Chance	NIı	NI ₃	СН	TAT-C	FC		
Significant in								
hypothesized direction	9.7	53	70	4	4	39		
Non-significant in								
hypothesized direction	184.3	203	193	198	151	217		
Non-significant in								
opposite direction	184.3	116	113	184	222	124		
Significant in								
opposite direction	9.7	16	12	2	11	8		
Total	388.0	388	388	388	388	388		
χ ² * P<		225	403	10.5	17.3	114		
P<		.001	.001	.02	.001	.001		

^{*}df=3. For each of the correlations reported above: n=25; df=23; r.∞=.40.

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Table 3. Chance and Observed Distributions of 388 Hypothesized Correlations Derived From NI₁, NI₂, and FC: Based on One-Sided Test at .05 Level and Empirically Derived Variance*

Number of		Source of Rating				
Correlations	Chance	NIı	NI_2	FC		
Significant in hypothesized						
direction	19.4	32	53	38		
Other	368.6	356	335	350		
Total	388.0	388	388	388		
S _s ²	.0455	.0940	.0884	.0649		
r.05	.34	.47	.45	.40		
X 2		7.9	59.4	17.8		
P<		.01	.001	.001		

* df=1.

nificant deviations in the direction contrary to the general hypothesis. This possibility is examined in Table 2. Although all of the observed distributions differ markedly from the theoretical, it is evident that neither the CH nor the TAT-C shows a significantly large number of significant correlations in the opposite direction.⁵

There is one other statistical difficulty which merits consideration. It may be argued that since these correlations are all based on twenty-five couples or fifty persons, it is incorrect to apply a test which involves the assumption that the coefficients are independent. This assumption is involved in determining the critical value which a correlation must have in order to be regarded as significant. It may be that non-independence affects the variance of the distribution of correlations. If it increases the variance. then the test in Table 1 reports too many correlations as significant (type I error). On the other hand, if non-independence results in a decrease in the variance of the distribution of correlations, then the foregoing test is conservative in the sense that too few are reported as "significant" (type II error). Accordingly, for the three distributions which have previously supported the general hypothesis (NI1, NI2, and FC) new critical values of r have been determined on the basis of empircally-rather than theo-

TABLE 4. CHANCE AND OBSERVED DISTRIBUTIONS OF 388 HYPOTHESIZED CORRELATIONS DERIVED FROM NI₁, NI₂, AND FC: BASED ON TWO-SIDED TEST AT .05 LEVEL AND EMPIRICALLY DERIVED VARIANCE*

Number of		Source of Rating				
Correlations	Chance	NI_1	NI_2	FC		
Significant in hypothesized						
direction	9.7	23	25	20		
Non-significant in	2		-	20		
hypothesized						
direction	184.3	233	238	236		
Non-significant in opposite						
direction	184.3	127	124	129		
Significant in opposite						
direction	9.7	5	1	3		
Total	388.0	388	388	388		
S _s ²	.0455	.0940	.0884	.0649		
r.03	.40	.54	.52	.46		
χ ²		51	67	47		
P<		.001	.001	.001		

* df=3.

retically—derived variance of the r's.⁶ The results appear in Tables 3 (for the one-sided test) and 4 (for the two-sided test). From these tables it may be concluded that:

- (a) The speculation that non-independence might affect the variance of the r's seems to be borne out, i.e., the variances of the distributions are increased.
- (b) Whereas the magnitudes of chi-square are reduced, the burden of the evidence is still strongly on the side of the general hypothesis, i.e., the distributions are not symmetrical about a mean of zero.

Out of our 388 specific sub-hypotheses, 44 were of type I (wherein the correlation between husbands and wives on the same variable is hypothesized to be negative) and 344 were of type II (wherein two different variables are involved and the hypothesized correlation may be positive or negative). An earlier paper has presented evidence in support of the hypothesis that mate-selection takes place in accordance with type I complementariness. Since 344 out of the 388

Table suppo vided.

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Number Correla Signification hypodirec Other

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⁵ The major contribution to CH's chi-square (6.1 out of 10.5) results from its deficit in the "significant in opposite direction" category. For the TAT-C the large contributions (13.7 out of 17.3) come from the two "non-significant" categories.

⁶ Empirical variance is the mean square deviation of each distribution after r's have been transformed into z's.

⁷ Cf. article cited in footnote 3. Types I and II complementariness, which are concepts in the theory of complementary needs, are of course not to be confused with types I and II error, which are concepts in statistical inference.

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correlations (or roughly 89 per cent) in Tables 1-4 deal with type II, evidence in support of this type has been roughly provided. To clinch this point, however, Table 5 produces the data from Table 3 with only

Table 5. Chance and Observed Distributions of 344 Hypothesized Correlations Which Represent Type II Complementariness and Are Derived From NI₁, NI₂, and FC: Based on One-Sided Test at .05 Level and Empirically Derived Variance*

Number of		Sou	arce of Ra	ting
Correlations	Chance	NI_1	NI_2	FC
Significant in hypothesized	G-			
direction	17.2	26	47	35
Other	326.8	318	297	309
Total	344.0	344	344	344
Sz ²	.0455	.0940	.0884	.0649
r.05	.34	.47	.45	.40
χ ²		4.2	52.5	18.3
P<		.05	.001	.001

* df=1.

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the 344 type II correlations, i.e., with the 44 type I correlations removed.

Summary. The hypothesis of complementary needs asserts that spouses tend to select each other on the basis of complementary rather than similar need patterns. In accordance with this theory the signs of 388 interspousal correlations have been hypothesized. Five sets of ratings have been derived from three sets of data (two interviews and a projective test) on each of fifty spouses. Three of the distributions of correlations (those derived from the two analyses of the need-interview and from the final conference) support the theory of complementary needs in mate-selection. The other two distributions (based upon the case-history and the TAT) did not suport the theory. In view of the fact that the latter distributions clustered around zero, they did not support the contrary theory of homogamous mateselection. The bulk of the evidence, therefore, supports the hypothesis that mates tend to select each other on the basis of complementary needs.

CHURCH-SECT TYPOLOGY AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

RUSSELL R. DYNES
The Ohio State University

ALTHOUGH the polar types of Church and Sect were introduced by Max Weber, they are most often identified with one of his students, Ernst Troeltsch. Others, in both theology and sociology, have used variations of these types primarily to categorize historical data.

While these constructs have had their roots in the sociology of religion, their theoretical implications extend into other areas of specialization, notably, power, stratification and the sociology of knowledge.

The construct of the Church has generally signified a type of religious organization which accepts the social order and integrates existing cultural definitions into its religious ideology. The Sect, as a contrasting type, rejects integration with the social order and develops a separate sub-culture, stressing rather rigid behavioral requirements for its members. While these types have been useful in historical and theoretical analysis, there have been few efforts to apply them empirically to contemporary religious phenomena. This paper reports one attempt to quantify them and to ascertain their relationship to socio-economic status.

¹ See Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism [Translated by Talcott Parsons], London: Allen and Unwin, 1930; and the "The Protestant Sects and the Spirit of Capitalism" in From Max Weber, Essays in Sociology [Translated by Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills], New York: Oxford University Press, 1946.

² See Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches* [Translated by Olive Wyon], New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932.

³ See, for example, H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929; Leopold von Weise and Howard Becker, *Systematic Sociology*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1932; J. Milton Yinger, *Religion in the Struggle for Power*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1946; S. D. Clark, *Church and Sect in Canada*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948; and Joachim Wach,

[&]quot;Church, Denomination and Sect" in Types of Religious Experience, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951.

THEORETICAL BASIS

Restricting the study to Protestantism, the types are posed in terms of a number of specific distinctions drawn primarily from the work of Liston Pope: ⁴

 The Sect renounces or is indifferent to the secular value systems, while the Church

accepts and reinforces them.

2. The Sect emphasizes a literal Biblical interpretation of life and rejects worldly success, while the Church incorporates some degree of scientific and humanistic thinking in its interpretation of life and accepts success in this world as a not unworthy goal.

3. The Sect maintains a moral community, excluding unworthy members, and depreciates membership in other religious institutions, while the Church embraces all who are socially compatible with it and accepts other established religious institutions.

4. The Sect emphasizes congregational participation and an unprofessionalized ministry, while the Church delegates religious responsibility to a professionalized group of

officials.

 The Sect stresses a voluntary confessional basis for membership and its primary concern is for adults, while the Church stresses social and ritual requisites for all.

social and ritual requisites for all.

6. The Sect values fervor in religious observance through its use of folk hymns and its emphasis on evangelism, while the Church values passivity through its use of liturgical forms of worship and its emphasis on education.

SCALE CONSTRUCTION

Although the distinctions above are phrased in terms of religious behavior and concepts, this study translated them into statements of personal preference and used them in the construction of an initial thirty-five item Likert-type scale. The scale was pretested on a sample drawn from a large Protestant church in Columbus. The initial scale was analyzed by the method of internal consistency ⁵ and was revised eliminating

Liston Pope, Millhands and Preachers, New

eleven items. The twenty-four items retained had the largest scale value differences and gave the best coverage to the theoretical types. The items utilized five responses—Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree—and were scored from one, indicating a Sect response, to five, indicating a Church response.⁶ A total score was computed—low

was determined for each difference. For further details, see, R. F. Sletto, The Construction of Personality Scales by the Criterion of Internal Consistency, Hanover, N. H.: The Sociological Press,

1937.

⁶ In the scale, when an item stated a Sectarian trait, Strongly Agree was scored as one. When the item stated a Church trait, the scoring was reversed and Strongly Agree was scored as five. The items are listed below by their mean scores and the items representing a Church trait are indicated by an asterisk.

I think a minister should preach without expecting to get paid for it. (X-3.98)

 I think it is more important to live a good life now than to bother about life after death.* (X-3.74)

 I think a person who is not willing to follow all the rules of the church should not be allowed to belong. (X-3.58)

 Testifying about one's religious experience should be a part of regular church services.

(X—3.52)5. I feel that a congregation should encourage the minister during his sermon by saying

amen. $(\overline{X}-3.51)$ 6. I think that we should emphasize education

in religion and not conversion.* (X-3.50)
7. I think that there is practically no difference between what the different Protestant churches believe.* (X-3.25)

 I think a person should make a testimony about his religion before he joins a church. (X-3.20)

 In church, I would rather sing the hymns myself than hear the choir sing. (X-3.19)

10. I think being a success in one's job is one mark of a good Christian.* $(\overline{X}$ -3.01)

11. A minister who is "called" is better than one who is "trained." (X-3.00)

12. I like the "old-time" religion. $(\overline{X}-2.98)$

13. I think churches should have more revivals. $(\overline{X}-2.94)$

14. I think it would be wrong for a church member to have a job as a bartender. (X-2.77)

15. I think a person should feel his religion before he joins a church. $(\overline{X}-2.71)$

 I like to sing the old gospel songs rather than the new hymns. (X-2.64) type indictype. The two meth

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Haven: Yale University Press, 1942.

⁵ The method is briefly as follows: First, after the scale had been scored, the items were ranked in terms of their total score. Second, the extremes of the distribution were segregated. In this instance, quartiles were used. Third, the differences between these quartiles were computed. In this scale, since there were different weighted responses from one to five, the mean was computed for each item in both quartiles. Fourth, the statistical significance

^{*} For further details on scale construction, see the writer's unpublished doctoral dissertation, Churck-Sect Typology: An Empirical Study, The Ohio State University, 1954.

scores indicating the acceptance of the Sect type of religious organization and high scores indicating the acceptance of the Church

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The scale was analyzed for reliability in two different samples using the split-half method. On the pretest sample (N=55), using a Pearsonian product-moment correlation, the uncorrected split-half correlation was $\pm .86$ with a standard error of $\pm .04$. Taking account of attenuation, the estimated correlation by the Spearman-Brown formula was +.92. From the final sample, one hundred cases were selected at random for analysis. The split-half correlation was \pm .70 with a standard error of \pm .05. Taking account of attenuation, the estimated correlation was +.82.

The validity of the scale was inferred from two different sources. The first aspect involved judgment of the scale's conformity to the types to be measured. Ten judges were asked to identify both the general type and the specific polarity to which each item was related. All of the judges were sociologists, either by present occupation or by choice of advanced graduate study. They represented a variety of religious backgrounds (i.e. Methodist, Congregational, Brethern, Orthodox Jewish, Lutheran, Baptist, Disciples of Christ) and a variety of degrees of present interest. Of five judges who had had some theological training, four had received B.D. degrees from seminaries representing this number of different Protestant denominations. There was a mean agreement of 98 per cent among the judges on each item's relation to the general type, either Church or Sect, and a mean agreement of 84 per cent on each item's relation to one of sixteen specific polarities.7 The second aspect of validity was based on the conception that individuals, belonging to religious organizations which manifest either Church or Sect traits, would presumably hold favorable attitudes toward these traits, and this would be reflected by a valid scale. Sampling procedure necessitated combining Episcopalian and Presbyterian members to represent the Church type and the Holiness, Pentecostal, Church of God, Church of the Nazarene and Baptist members to represent the Sect type. Table 1 shows the mean scale score differences between the members of these criterion groups. The scale, then, not only had tested reliability but also both logical and empirical validity.

TABLE 1. MEAN CHURCH-SECT SCORES OF CRITERION GROUPS

Criterion Group	N	Mean		Critical Ratio*	P
"Church" members	62	76.1	10.7		
"Sect" members	53	51.8	13.4	10.6	.001

*The difference between mean scores has a Critical Ratio of 10.6, a probability of <.001 that it is due to chance.

The scale, in questionnaire form, was sent to a random sample of the adult population listed in the City Directory of the Columbus metropolitan area. The questionnaire contained other attitude items and elicited information on social participation, denominational affiliation and other social background characteristics, including the three different measures of socio-economic status used here. Random sampling was chosen in preference to using the usually inaccurate church records, since it would approximate actual denominational proportions would include "marginal" church members, i.e., those with a denominational preference but no active affiliation. As the scale was designed to measure Church-Sect tendencies within Protestantism, an initial loss of 25 per cent was anticipated from the presence of non-Protestants in the sample. Actually 22 per cent of the final returns were from

^{17.} I don't believe churches do enough about saving souls. (X-2.63)

^{18.} Heaven and Hell are very real to me. (X-2.53)

^{19.} All the miracles in the Bible are true. (X-2.45)

^{20.} Children should not become members of the church until they are old enough to understand about it. (X-2.39)

^{21.} I think it is more important to go to church than to be active in politics. (X-2.18)

^{22.} I wish ministers would preach more on the

Bible and less on politics. (X-2.07)23. I think it is more serious to break God's law than to break man's law. (X-2.00)

^{24.} I think every family should have family prayers or say grace before meals. (X-1.92)

⁷ The six distinctions mentioned above between Church and Sect are a summary of these sixteen specific polarities.

non-Protestants. Returns of the questionnaire were elicited by the initial mailing, two follow-up postcards and a second questionnaire mailed to every fifth non-respondent. This study was based on 360 returns or 53 per cent of the estimated Protestant sample.⁸

CHURCH-SECT SCORES AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Although there were other aspects to this research, this paper is confined to the relation between socio-economic status and the attitudes measured by the Church-Sect Scale. It was hypothesized that the higher the socio-economic status, the greater would be the acceptance of the Church type of religious organization. Operationally, this would be indicated on the scale by higher scores. Socio-economic status was estimated by three different measures: first, by differences in education; second, by the Census Occupational classification; third, by ratings of occupational prestige on the North-Hatt Scale.⁹

Using education as the first-measure of socio-economic status, Table 2 indicates that consistent differences in mean scale scores occur among all of the different educational levels. Although only two of the differences between adjacent categories were significant at the .05 level, this was, in part, a product of small categories, since both high school and college were sub-divided into graduates and non-graduates. It is evident that the degree of acceptance of the Church type of organization increases with an increase in the amount of education.

TABLE 2. MEAN CHURCH-SECT SCORES BY AMOUNT OF EDUCATIONAL TRAINING

Amount of Educational Training	N	Mean		Critical Ratio*	P
Post-graduate					
and professional	40	79.8	12.1	0	40
College graduate	39	77.7	11.2	.9	.40
One to three years				2.1	.05
of college	55	72.9	12.2		
High school				1.7	.10
Graduate	93	69.2	13.4		
One to three years				1.4	.20
of high school	48	66.3	10.6		
Elementary school	54	59.9	12.4	2.8	.01

* Critical Ratios are for differences between mean scores of adjacent categories.

The Census Occupational Classification was used as the second indicator of socioeconomic status since this classification reflects, in part, a prestige hierarchy. Table 3 indicates that mean differences in Church-Sect scores occurred among all of the major categories. (Service workers and laborers were combined.) The only discrepency, if it is one, is the higher mean score of the managers, since the professional category is usually assumed to be highest in prestige. One possible explanation for this "discrepancy" was the relative grossness of the Census category of "Professional, technical and kindred workers." Some who were so classified, e.g., draftsmen, technical clerks, etc., were professionals more by classification than by public acceptance, and these "quasi-professionals" produced greater prestige and attitude hetrogeneity. Dividing them into more homogeneous prestige groupings, both the managers and the "traditional" professionals had somewhat similar Church-Sect scores. 10 Additional data on

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⁸ Use of the City Directory as a sampling source obviously excludes recent migrants to the city from the sample. The final returns, also, came more frequently from the higher socio-economic groups. Assuming 25 per cent of the non-returns would be from non-Protestants, the highest occupational prestige category (80 and above on the North-Hatt scale, see footnote 9) had a 73 per cent return, and the lowest prestige category (under 60) had a 33 per cent return. It is probable that the non-Protestant population would be more heavily concentrated in the lower prestige categories, so perhaps the differential return is not quite so great. The interest of this paper, however, is to investigate the relationship between Church-Sect attitudes and socio-economic status and not the distribution of these attitudes in the general popula-

⁹ Cecil C. North and Paul K. Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," *Opinion News*, 9 (1947) pp. 3-13.

¹⁰ The greater hetrogeneity of the professional category is shown in Table 3 by its larger standard deviation. Both the managerial and professional categories were sub-divided into more homogeneous prestige groupings using the North-Hatt scale. The managers with higher prestige (72 and over on the North-Hatt scale) had a mean Church-Sect score of 79.9 (N=21) and the managers with lower prestige (under 72) had a mean score of 79.1 (N=20). The professionals were divided into three groups. Professionals with the highest prestige (80 and above on the North-Hatt scale) had a Church-Sect score of 78.8 (N=33), the middle group (78-79) had a mean score of 77.3 (N=23) and the lowest (77 and below) had a mean score of 74.7 (N=25).

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the managerial and professional categories are presented below, but this "discrepancy" should not obscure the close association between the occupational classification, indicating prestige differences, and variations in Church-Sect scores.

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TABLE 3. MEAN CHURCH-SECT SCORES FOR MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

Occupational Categories*	N	Mean		Critical Ratio†	P
Managers, officials and proprietors	41	79.5	7.8		
Professional, tech- nical and kin-				1.8	.10
dred workers	81	76.3	11.2	1.6	.20
Sales workers	32	71.7	14.6	1.0	.20
Craftsmen, fore- men and kin-				.9	.40
dred workers	54	69.0	11.8		
Clerical and				1.2	.30
kindred workers	53	66.2	11.6		
Operatives and				1.1	.30
kindred workers	40	63.6	12.1		
Service workers and laborers	27	53.9	12.6	3.1	.01

*Source of occupational categories is U. S. Bureau of the Census, Alphabetical Index of Occupations and Industries: 1950, Washington, D. C., 1950.

† Critical Ratios are for differences between mean scores of adjacent categories.

The third measure of socio-economic status used was the North-Hatt scale which expresses occupational prestige by a numerical score between twenty and one hundred. Using this more precise measure of prestige, systematic differences in Church-Sect scores again occurred among North-Hatt categories. (See Table 4.) One reversal in the differences in the attitude scores occurs in the 70–74 range of the North-Hatt scale. Since the highest mean Church-Sect score of the occupational categories was for managers, it seemed plausible that many of this category might be concentrated within this prestige range of the North-Hatt scale.

¹¹ Op. cit., The original prestige evaluations in the North-Hatt study included only 90 different occupations. Since ratings for other occupations were needed to make it a useful research tool, several different studies at Ohio State have expanded the initial list. All have used a standard method of interpolation, using five judges to evaluate an occupation in terms of the original scale. This expanded list is available in mimeographed form from the writer.

Analysis proved this to be correct, and this concentration increased the mean Church-Sect scores. ¹² Again, this aberration should not conceal the general association between the Church-Sect scores and occupational prestige.

TABLE 4. MEAN CHURCH-SECT SCORES BY CATE-GORIES ON THE NORTH-HATT SCALE

North-Hatt Score	N	Mean		Critical Ratio*	P
80 and above	39	80.5	9.7		20
75-79	48	77.0	10.6	1.6	.20
70-74	49	78.2	9.7	• • •	
65-69	93	69.9	10.9	4.6	.001
60-64	54	62.2	11.4	4.0	.001
Under 60	47	56.8	14.1	2.1	.05

* Critical Ratios are for differences between mean scores of adjacent categories.

The relationships between Church-Sect scores and these three indices of socio-economic status indicate, as hypothesized, that Churchness is associated with high socio-economic status and, conversely, that Sectness is associated with low socio-economic status. In other words, as education increases, emotionalism, evangelism and other Sectarian characteristics are increasingly rejected. An increase in occupational prestige, whether measured by the Census Occupational Classification or by the North-Hatt scale, is associated with a greater acceptance of the more institutional and liturgical Church.

12 The managerial category was analyzed for its composition of occupational prestige. A mean North-Hatt score of 73 was found for this category, and this mean lies within the range where the "discrepancy" occurred in the North-Hatt scale shown in Table 4. One might expect, however, this similarity in Church-Sect scores between the managers and the more "traditional" professions, represented by the top categories of the North-Hatt scores. Income may be one intrusive factor. While the managers have slightly less occupational prestige than the professionals, as a group, managers have a higher income. (For evidence on this point, see, Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Duncan, "Residential Distribution and Occupational Stratification," American Journal of Sociology, 60 (March, 1955), pp. 493-503). The Church-Sect scores may bear a closer relationship to income than to education and occupation; however, in this study, no income data were collected. In addition, if part of the constellation of the Church type of organization is the acceptance and reinforcement of secular value systems, then, a high score of the managerial category would be expected.

CHURCH-SECT SCORES AND DENOMINATIONAL MEMBERSHIP

It might be argued that the Church-Sect Scale measures only differences in denominational affiliation, since certain denominations manifest behaviorally the traits which the scale attempted to measure. (For example, denominational groups were used as criterion groups in a test of validity. See Table 1.) It is hypothesized here, however, that these differences are the result of socio-economic factors correlated with membership in certain denominations and are not just the simple consequence of doctrinal position. In other words, when a denomination, or a specific church, has a membership drawn from a certain socio-economic level, these members will manifest certain attitudes and other characteristic traits of that level, regardless of the specific doctrinal emphasis. Thus, individuals of different denominations but equivalent in socio-economic status may be more similar in certain religious attitudes than individuals of the same denomination who differ in socio-economic status.

If these attitudes, measured by the scale, actually vary with socio-economic status, members of the same denomination differing in occupational prestige, for example, should show corresponding differences in scale scores. To determine whether this is valid, an analysis was made of two denominational groups, Methodists and Presbyterians, which were frequent enough in the sample to permit subdivision into prestige categories. The results are shown in Table 5. Both of these groups were dichotomized on the North-Hatt Scale using seventy as the dividing line. The Methodists categorized this way showed a mean difference of almost eleven scale points, significant at the .001 level. The Presbyterians, a more homogeneous group in prestige, showed a scale difference of

almost seven points, significant at the .05 level. Holding denominational affiliation constant, then, the difference in the degree of Churchness and Sectness is still associated with socio-economic status.

SUMMARY

The Church-Sect typology, introduced by Weber and Troeltsch and used in various forms by others, served as the theoretical basis for this study. An attitude scale was constructed to measure these types and it was administered in questionnaire form to a random sample of the Columbus, Ohio, Protestant population. The scale scores were related to socio-economic status, measured three different ways. Significant relationships were found between the acceptance of the Sect type of organization and lower socioeconomic status and between the acceptance of the Church type of organization and higher socio-economic status. In two instances, holding denominational affiliation constant, differences in the degree of acceptance of Church or Sect characteristics were still found to be associated with socio-economic status.

If vertical social mobility in America is as prevalent as alleged, these relationships would have implications for shifts in religious ideology and organizational structure. The research reported here, however, does not imply that economic determinism is a sufficient explanation of religious ideology. The insufficiency of one factor theories is well recognized, but in attempting to develop an adequate theory of the function of religion, points of origin have to be selected in tracing functional interrelationships. This research should indicate that knowledge of socio-economic factors is important in understanding religious behavior.

Table 5. Mean Church-Sect Scores of Methodists and Presbyterians by Categories on the North-Hatt Scale

Denominational Affiliation	North-Hatt Score	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Critical Ratio*	P
Methodists	70 and over Under 70	43 54	78.0 67.1	9.9 11.2	5.1	.001
Presbyterians	70 and over Under 70	24 24	78.4 71.7	8.5 10.5	2.4†	.05

^{*} Critical Ratios are for differences between mean scores.

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THE STATUS OF JOBS AND OCCUPATIONS AS EVALUATED BY AN URBAN NEGRO SAMPLE *

MORGAN C. BROWN
Southern University

THIS paper is a brief report of a study dealing with the status of jobs and occupations as evaluated by Negroes of Columbus, Ohio. The author attempted to make a small-scale test of the hypothesis that Negro evaluation of jobs and occupations differs significantly from that of white Americans as reflected in the North-Hatt jobscale of the mid-1940's.1 The latter scale includes ninety different jobs of varying occupational levels as evaluated by a nationwide cross-section of the adult white U. S. population. North and Hatt discovered that white respondents gave the highest status rating to the U.S. Supreme Court Justice. Physician and State Governor tied for second place, with Cabinet Member in the Federal Government, Diplomat in the U.S. Foreign Service, and Mayor of a Large City occupying the next highest positions, in descending order. Respondents gave the lowest prestige or status ratings to the jobs of Bartender, Janitor, Garbage Collector, Street-sweeper, and Shoe shiner.

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Since the North-Hatt study, new considerations have arisen with respect to how Negroes might have rated the occupations, or how the total list of jobs might have appeared in scalar order had Negro persons been included in the study sample. Interest in the evaluations by Negroes may have had its genesis partly in the finding that characteristic attitudes and values derive from the social and cultural setting, and that, due to conditions which differentiate the white and Negro populations sociologically, Negroes tend at times to respond to social and economic factors quite unlike the larger popu-

lation.² Among the purposes of the present study, therefore, were the following: (1) to discover the evaluation of a list of jobs and occupations by Negro respondents; (2) to determine how the obtained evaluation compared with that of white Americans during 1947 as reflected in the nation-wide North-Hatt study,³ and (3) to attempt to arrive at some attributes of job prestige and, thereby, obtain total measurements of values (jobs) through the technique of measuring specific identifiable components.

METHOD

A list of 129 jobs and occupations 4 was obtained by interviewing adult Negroes who lived in various sections of the city of Columbus, Ohio and who were thought to be representative of all socio-economic categories. 5 These jobs were ranked by a sample of thirty Negroes from various socio-eco-

² Among recent studies which deal with environing background and Negro personality are the American Council on Education studies summarized by R. L. Sutherland in *Color, Class and Personality*, Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1942.

³ It was assumed that although there may have been changes in the values of white persons with respect to jobs and occupations since 1947, these changes would not be of such magnitude as to render a comparison useless.

^{4 &}quot;Occupation", here, refers to a gainful activity at which people are employed. Although "job" is sometimes regarded as a specific performance or "duty" within the larger framework of an occupation, the terms "job" and "occupation" are used interchangeably in this report.

⁵ The ninety jobs listed in the North-Hatt scale were not used in this study because there was no assurance that Negroes were familiar with the North-Hatt jobs. In the selection of jobs for the above study, preliminary interviews were made with more than 1,000 Negro residents, each of whom was asked to enumerate as many jobs, irrespective of status, as he could think of. Listing of a specific job by five respondents was arbitrarily taken as indicating that the job was familiar enough to Negro respondents for inclusion in the total listing of jobs. Of 129 jobs obtained, 65 had been rated in the North-Hatt study.

^{*}The author wishes to thank John F. Cuber and Raymond F. Sletto of Ohio State University for their criticism of this paper.

¹ Cecil C. North and Paul K. Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation." *Opinion News* (September 1, 1947), p. 3. (Respondents were interviewed by National Opinion Research Center interviewers.)

nomic backgrounds by the use of the 5-point alternate response scale used by North and Hatt.6 When the obtained rankings of sixtyfive of the jobs were correlated with the rankings which these same sixty-five occupations received in the North-Hatt study, a +.92 rho resulted. Ten jobs from each extreme of the obtained continuum of occupations were then listed on 3" by 5" cards, labelled Card A and Card B, and respondents were asked, randomly, to state factors which they thought differentiated one set of jobs as a whole from the other, the assumption being, of course, that the two sets of jobs were of dissimilar status levels. The procedure was continued until, instead of new suggestions, the responses tended to represent mere extensions of previously obtained information.7 This latter technique was an attempt to "get behind" the prestige rankings in order to obtain some knowledge with respect to the configuration of factors or "inner qualities" assessed by persons as having relationship to the status rankings. It was noted, accordingly, that respondents designated the "better jobs" as those which appeared at the upper extreme of the aforementioned job continuum, and which were listed on Card A. Respondents characterized the jobs listed on Card A as follows:

 The jobs were greatly necessary for the public welfare.

Persons within the community who performed the jobs were accorded more than usual respect.

3. The jobs were clean.

Extensive education or training was required for entry into the jobs.

5. In terms of talent or skill, persons who could perform the jobs were rare.

6. Good salaries were earned.

 The jobs afforded considerable leisure time for recreation and/or vacations.

8. Persons performing the jobs were accepted as authorities in the community.

The occupations had high standings which could be traced back into history.

10. Great muscular effort or physical exertion

was not required when performing the iobs.

 The jobs had a religious-moral-altruistic tradition in connection with the social life of the people.

No respondent, singly, suggested all of the eleven a priori items; rather, the above dimensions or "inner qualities" were thought to be especially associated with high-status jobs by a cross-section of the adult Negro population of Columbus, which included housewives, laborers, business and professional persons, college students, "men on the street," and others, each of whom jotted down his or her viewpoints on sheets of paper which were supplied for this purpose. The total viewpoints were broken down by a panel of three sociologists and classified under thirteen relatively distinct headings. Two of the categories-"Job permanence" and "Relative absence of physical danger in connection with job performance"—were later discarded because items pertaining to these categories had been suggested by too few respondents.8

Although the above items or dimensions were recognized as not mutually exclusive, a 5-point arbitrary response scale was devised to measure the degree to which a final study sample of 200 respondents would feel that the specific attribute denoted in each statement is associated with each job. Attributes were assumed to have a weight of 1.9

Standardization of the Instrument. With respect to validity, high and low scores of selected occupations, after use of the instrument, tended to conform to the generalized evaluations of persons who were interviewed during the early stages of the investigation, and with common-sense judgments. At the same time, the instrument threw statistical light upon the problem at hand.

Concerning reliability, the instrument was tested by having the thirty original judges re-rate each job in terms of the eleven dimensions, a Pearsonian r of +.83 resulting.

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⁶ According to the North-Hatt response pattern, a job evaluated as "Excellent" was assigned an arbitrary weight of 100; "Good," 80; "Average," 60; "Somewhat below average," 40; and "Poor," 20. "I don't know" answers, evaluated as 0, were not included in the computation of mean scores.

⁷ Approximately 300 persons were interviewed.

^{8 &}quot;Job permanence" was suggested by only three respondents, while "Absence of physical danger" was suggested by four respondents. Items pertaining to each of the other categories were suggested by not less than fifteen persons.

⁹ During pre-testing, a majority of persons were "undecided" with respect to which one of the attributes was most important when judging the status of a job. Differential weighting was omitted.

A retest four weeks later among the same thirty judges yielded a Pearsonian r of +.89. When the scores obtained in the latter operation were correlated with the verbal scores which the jobs originally had received, a Pearsonian r of +.81 obtained. A version of the split-half technique—separately computing the rankings of males and females, and correlating these with each other—yielded a

rho of +.91.

The Sample. In this investigation the study sample consisted of 200 persons who were obtained by random selection from the universe of 46,000 Negro residents of Columbus. The sample was based in part upon data obtained through study of the Seventeenth Census of the United States. Examination of census figures pertaining to characteristics of the Negro population of Columbus with special reference to the local housing of Negroes, number of persons per dwelling unit, sex ratio, and related data, revealed that a representative study sample could be secured through field visits to every seventh house in each of the four predominantly Negro districts of the city. In pursuing this plan, provisions were made for inclusion in the sample of "secondary families"-those living in the households of other people. In the place of thirteen persons who were never found at home, substitutions were made from the specific streets or neighborhoods concerned. The factors of sex, approximate age, home ownership, occupation, and type or worth of house lived in, were held constant in the substitution process. Chi-square tests revealed that the obtained sample did not differ significantly from the non-white universe in terms of sex, age, educational, and occupational characteristics.

Although the original study dealt with a comparison of the status scores of sixty-five jobs, Table 1 presents the scores of only forty-five of the more representative jobs and occupations as evaluated by the study sample of 200 respondents.

FINDINGS

Table 1 discloses that many of the North-Hatt mean scores which pertain to the jobs under comparison are similar to the mean scores in this study. The combined mean score for the total sixty-five jobs as rated by the nation-wide sample of whites was 72.16,

with a standard deviation of 15.66. The combined mean score for the sixty-five jobs, as rated by the 200 Negro respondents of Columbus, Ohio, was 71.60, with a standard deviation of 14.74. The critical ratio for the difference between the two combined mean scores was .52 (insignificant), while the Pearsonian correlation between the two columns of mean scores was found to be +.94, with standard error of +.01.

Notwithstanding the general conformity in ratings between the two samples, there were eleven instances (italicized in Table 1) in which the rating of a job by the Negro respondents was five or more points lower than the rating by the North-Hatt sample.10 Among jobs having great variation in mean score are those of Farm Tenant and Farm Owner. These deviations by Negro respondents from the nation-wide ratings may be interpreted as responses related to the life experiences of the population under study, and as expressive of tendencies implicit in the established social relations. Personal background data pertaining to the sample revealed that 55 per cent were born, and partly reared, in southern United States. It is probable that some of these persons, when rating the above jobs, may have associated farm tenancy with inequitable landlordtenant relations, based in poverty and exploitation—a phenomenon with which some respondents from southern areas were familiar. As a matter of fact, subsequent interviews revealed that some respondents, when commenting upon the status and role of the Farm Tenant, made frequent reference to "unfair crop share," "poor schools," and "lack of . . . [technical] . . . devices"— characteristic land-tenure conditions associated with the farm tenancy of the southern region in past decades. It is likely, furthermore, that relative cultural isolation and the unequal competition encountered by rural Negroes for productive farm lands may have been associated, in similar manner, with the related job of Farm Owner. Irrespective of whether these aforementioned phenomena are real or fancied in the South today, such background experiences on the part of a responding population would be expected to

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¹⁰ A difference of five points was arbitrarily designated as representing a significant difference in evaluations with respect to a given job.

be reflected objectively in the job ratings. With respect to other italicized jobs in Table 1, data of U. S. Bureau of the Census reveal that Negro workers are greatly underrepresented in each of them. The latter suggests that the discrepancy in the ratings of many of these remaining jobs may have resulted to some extent from relative unfamiliarity of respondents with the jobs, in addition, of course, to numerous other factors.

¹¹ Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population, 1950: Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, Part 35, Ohio pp. 372-374.

Concerning the ten jobs (capitalized in Table 1) which were rated at least five points higher by the Negro study sample than by white respondents in the North-Hatt study, it may be stated that Negro workers have not as yet had the opportunity to participate freely in the economic spirit and tradition of urban, competitive, community life. As a consequence of this differentiation, it sometimes has been assumed that selected jobs might be assessed more valuable or prestigeful by Negroes from the standpoint of the status and meaning of these jobs in the restricted Negro society than when eval-

Table 1. Mean Scores of Forty-five Jobs and Occupations as Evaluated by the Study Sample and Compared with North-Hatt Scores, Columbus, Ohio, 1954

						Rat	ings	by S	tudy	San	nple		
Occupation*	North- Hatt Rating	Necessity of the Job	Respect Received	Education or Training Required	Talent or Skill Necessary	Salary	"Time Off" for Recreation	Standing in History	Cleanliness	Muscular Strength Involved	Authority	Altruism	Mean Score‡
U. S. Supreme Court Justice	96	98	96	98	96	96	84	98	96	92	98	94	95
Doctor of medicine	93	100	96	100	98	98	60	98	84	82	94	92	91
State governor	93	98	96	96	94	96	76	96	96	90	96	90	93
Cabinet member in the Fed. Govern-											-		
ment	92	94	94	96	94	94	78	94	96	90	94	84	91
U. S. diplomat (foreign service)	92	92	94	94	92	90	72	94	94	88	90	80	89
College professor	89	96	92	98	90	82	82	92	94	90	88	82	89
U. S. Congressman	89	98	90	92	90	94	82	96	94	92	96	84	91
Minister	87	98	94	82	80	72	70	96	94	90	96	100	88
Architect	86	86	80	82	92	90	76	84	88	82	62	58	80
Chemist	86	94	82	96	92	84	66	90	78	86	80	72	83
Dentist	86	96	86	96	94	94	66	88	78	80	72	82	84
Lawyer	86	92	86	94	90	90	70	96	92	86	90	80	87
Atomic scientist (nuclear physicist)	86	94	94	100	98	96	62	96	90	88	92	86	90
Psychologist	85	88	84	96	92	90	76	86	92	88	84	72	86
Engineer, civil	84	88	- 76	86	88	88	68	78	60	70	70	64	76
Artist	83	66	72	78	90	74	80	86	72	82	60	60	74
Sociologist	82	86	76	90	86	80	64	80	92	88	78	76	81
Accountant	81	82	70	80	74	74	60	70	88	88	62	58	73
Biologist	81	90	82	94	92	84	70	80	78	86	82	72	82
Novelist	80	70	80	80	90	84	66	90	92	88	70	66	79
Economist	79	82	84	90	82	86	68	82	92	88	90	70	83
PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHER	79	100	86	82	84	68	86	88	92	88	86	86	86
County Agricultural agent	77	78	74	76	76	72	66	70	64	74	74	70	72
Railroad engineer	77	84	70	72	72	76	56	68	48	64	54	60	65
Farm owner	76	98	66	56	68	76	58	72	50	62	66	68	67
Newspaper columnist	74	68	78	80	82	84	68	72	86	88	68	66	76
Electrician	73	84	68	74	80	78	60	68	54	68	58	56	68
Machinist	73	78	64	68	72	70	58	60	38	60	56	56	62

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TABLE 1-Continued

						Rat	ings	by S	tudy	San	nple		
Occupation*	North- Hatt Rating†	Necessity of the Job	Respect Received	Education or Training Required	Talent or Skill Necessary	Salary	"Time Off" for Recreation	Standing in History	Cleanliness	Muscular Strength Involved	Authority	Altruism	Mean Score
SOCIAL WORKER ("WELFARE													
WORKER")	73	90	78	82	72	68	62	80	82	88	80	88	79
MORTICIAN ("UNDERTAKER")	72	94	88	84	88	92	70	84	66	70	70	82	80
Farm tenant	68	80	44	38	46	42	54	42	32	50	48	58	48
Traveling salesman	68	54	54	58	64	62	60	50	82	80	52	48	60
Mail carrier (post office)	66	88	70	64	58	64	60	70	68	60	58	64	65
Carpenter	65	84	68	70	82	78	60	66	46	60	58	64	67
Plumber	63	88	64	64	68	80	56	62	28	48	50	58	60
LABOR UNION OFFICIAL) (local)	62	72	74	64	70	74	70	64	82	88	70	64	72
BARBER	59	82	64	58	64	66	60	62	74	78	52	58	65
Truck driver	54	70	52	50	62	60	54	50	50	56	52	54	55
NIGHT CLUB SINGER	52	40	54	52	78	78	78	46	84	88	36	34	60
Coal miner	49	90	52	42	54	70	60	56	20	38	40	54	52
HEAD-WAITER IN A HOTEL DINING ROOM ("RESTAURANT													
WAITER")	48	54	52	44	50	60	54	52	78	72	42	54	55
Janitor	44	70	44	28	36	44	52	44	30	54	36	56	45
GARBAGE COLLECTOR	35	86	42	26	28	52	50	36	22	52	34	52	43
STREET SWEEPER	34	70	38	22	28	48	56	30	30	54	28	44	40
SHOE SHINER	33	40	32	24	32	34	52	34	38	68	28	36	38

*Occupations given in italics were rated at least five points lower by the Negro sample than by the North-Hatt white sample; capitalized occupations, at least five points higher.

† North-Hatt scores represent opinion of nation-wide sample of 2,900 white persons.

‡ Ratings of jobs by study sample of 200 Negroes of Columbus, Ohio. Mean scores are the arithmetic means of the eleven independent attribute ratings pertaining to a job. Attribute ratings were arrived at by formula: $M = \frac{\Sigma}{200}$. Original scores, obtained by a weighted response pattern of from 1 (lowest possible rating) to 5 (highest possible rating), were multiplied by 20 in order that scores of the two samples would be comparable.

uated from a broader perspective. The jobs of School Teacher, Mortician, and Social Worker particularly have been known to represent the "top" jobs at which Negro persons are employed in many cities. When considered in terms of this study, the disparities in the mean scores of these jobs suggest a differential evaluation.

Moreover, it should be pointed out that the matter of limited occupational employment for urban Negroes constitutes a problem-situation which is observed with rather considerable concern by some social actionists, and consequent efforts directed toward the expansion of job opportunities for Negro workers have become social-action goals of numerous human relations organizations in urban areas. Theoretical students may obtain some understanding both of the social actionists' concern with this phenomenon and of the interrelations of relatively narrow occupational horizon and aggregate response through observing the status scores of the capitalized jobs which are found at the lower end of the job continuum in Table 1. These latter jobs received low mean scores which revealed that Negro respondents considered them of low status and generally distasteful

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in the light of present-day occupational trends; however, the jobs were evaluated in a slightly less distasteful light, statistically and comparatively, by the Negro study sample whose respondents had only a limited number of jobs to choose from, than by the North-Hatt sample which doubtless had less restricted occupational opportunities.

Many additional inferences may, of course, be drawn from these above data.

CONCLUSIONS

In the present study, and by the specific techniques employed, the hypothesis pertaining to the existence of significant differences in the evaluations of jobs and occupations by Columbus, Ohio, Negroes from those held eight years ago by a nation-wide sample of adult white Americans was not substantiated.

Like the white respondents who rated the jobs in 1947, Negro respondents in the Co-

lumbus study did not evaluate all jobs as being of equal social status. The mean scores of occupations differed widely, resulting in the formation of a rank system or continuum of jobs.

Only forty-five of the total sixty-five jobs under comparison were presented in this report. Negro respondents, however, rated ten of the sixty-five jobs five or more points higher than did the North-Hatt respondents, and eleven jobs were rated by them five or more points lower. An attempt was made to interpret the differential evaluations in the light both of the prevailing social situation and life experiences of the populations under comparison.

The present investigation suggests a need for comparative studies among other population aggregates of varying status levels for purposes of comparison with present findings.

INTERACTION PROCESS ANALYSIS OF PROFESSIONAL BEHAVIOR: A STUDY OF LABOR MEDIATORS IN TWELVE LABOR-MANAGEMENT DISPUTES *

HENRY A. LANDSBERGER

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This article reports a study undertaken to illustrate the use of a method for describing professional behavior in empirical as well as theoretical terms. Such a description of professional behavior usually presents great difficulties if the descriptive categories used are to stay close to the empirically observable level, statistically cap-

able of manipulation, and yet also capable of being fitted into a theoretical system applicable outside the particular profession. The acts of which a profession consists are as a rule qualitatively so disparate as to defy such conceptualization. In the case of the medical profession, for instance, writing a prescription for a patient is not comparable to listening to the patient's heart-beat nor to giving verbal reassurance. Fortunately for the social scientist, however, the profession of mediator of labor-management disputes is an exception to this condition. The role behavior of the mediator qua mediator consists chiefly of verbal interactions in small faceto-face negotiating groups. For this kind of study techniques and a backlog of theory are already in existence.

The statistical results of this study are not presented as definitive for the profession concerned. The manner in which the behavior sample was gathered was not random, nor

The initial stages of this study were financed through Contract No. 401 (04) by the Office of Naval Research. Later stages were financed by the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations. The help of both institutions is gratefully acknowledged.

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^{*}This article is based on a Ph.D. dissertation at Cornell University. The writer wishes to express his appreciation to the members of his committee: W. F. Whyte, W. W. Lambert and U. Bronfenbrenner; to Philip J. McCarthy for suggestions in connection with statistical work; to Anna G. Douglas of the University of Buffalo, through whose good offices the data were recorded; and to R. F. Bales for training in Interaction Process Analysis, as well as in discussion of its theoretical background.

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are not fession chavior m, nor were the results sufficiently clear-cut to warrant their presentation as conclusive. Rather, it was the main purpose of this study to illustrate that the professional role behavior of labor mediators is capable of being described in terms which are quantitative and at the same time meaningful within a theoretical framework. This article reports the results of the study of four mediators handling a total of twelve cases: their average behavior, variations in their behavior due to variations in the situations which they faced, variations in behavior due to individual differences in role interpretation, and the parties' expectations of these mediators as suggested by their reactions to them. The description was made and its results interpreted so that facts from the specific situations in these mediation cases were viewed in the light of theories of small groups in general.

THE SETTING

Mediation is the process of assisting two parties to reach an agreement after bipartite negotiations between them have broken down. Mediators are available to the parties both from a federal agency established for this purpose—the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service—and from agencies established by several of the individual states. Intervention is usually at the request of one of the parties, although agencies are generally free to proffer their services.

Labor mediators from the State agency from which the data were drawn come under Civil Service regulations. They earn annual salaries of \$7,000 to \$10,000. Many hold either a four-year or a higher degree in economics or law. Each mediator has his own office, where most of the mediation process takes place. Instead of the psychiatrist's proverbial couch, there is a table, at the head of which the mediator sits, and on either side of which sit the parties.

The distinction between mediation and arbitration is important to point out. An arbitrator hears a case much as does a judge, and after obtaining the facts and arguments, he retires to consider the evidence and thereafter makes a formal award. The mediator does not make an award. He participates in what is essentially a group discussion, (it may be a more or less heated discussion) in

order to clarify, reassure, cajole, suggest, or just sit silently by. No authority is given him by the parties nor by the State, and he succeeds only in so far as the parties are willing and he is able. The staff of the State agency from which the data were obtained always try to mediate a case even if they are assigned to it in the role of arbitrator, in which case they do issue an award if mediation efforts fail. Of the twelve cases constituting the data of this study, four were formally docketed as arbitration cases. But three of these were disposed of without award, i.e. successfully mediated, and the fourth may be considered an unsuccessful mediation case.

DATA AND METHOD OF ANALYSIS

This study was based on the analysis of twelve mediation and mediated arbitration cases recorded and transcribed in the summer of 1950. In comparison with the annual statistics 1 of the agency for that year, it appears that they were representative of cases from small enterprises (employing less than twenty-five workers) which constituted almost half of the agency's case load. The twelve cases appeared to be representative when compared with the agency's annual statistics with respect to such characteristics as the type of industry involved, whether a strike was or was not threatened or whether a strike was actually in progress, and the type of settlement achieved.2

Each of the twelve cases analyzed was settled or adjourned *sine die* at the end of only one meeting—the one recorded. Final disposition in one sitting was fortunate from an analytical point of view because it made these particular meetings comparable to the single, complete group meetings customarily utilized in experiments in the theory of small groups. It was accounted for by the fact that neither the owner-employers nor the employees in these small cases were able to stand the costs of a strike, or even of prolonged negotiations.

¹ Further details of cases and of the agency concerned cannot be revealed because of the assurance given that anonymity would be maintained. In any case, no generalizations from the data to mediation as a whole are being made.

² For further details see Henry A. Landsberger, "A Study of Mediation Through an Analysis of the Background of Disputes and the Behavior of the Mediator," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, 1954. Interaction Process Analysis ³ was selected as the most suitable method for the analysis of the mediators' behavior in these small face-to-face groups. It has the advantage of permitting statistical treatment of behavior while yet retaining its grosser meaning.

No reliability check on the author's scoring of the sessions was made, chiefly because of limitations of resources. However, the author received training from Professor Bales, from whose laboratory satisfactory interscorer reliability has been reported.⁴ On this basis, and in view of the fact that another investigator ⁵ had reported satisfactory reliability without such training, it seemed justifiable to assume that the reliability of the scoring in this study was adequate.

THE MEDIATORS' BEHAVIOR AS LEADERS OF THEIR GROUPS

Bales' theory of small groups was selected as the framework into which the professional behavior of these mediators could be integrated. In Bales' thinking, the activities of a group as a whole oscillate between activities directly relevant to the accomplishment of the task before it on the one hand, and activities necessary to maintain the social and emotional cohesion of the group on the other.⁶

As a corollary to this dualism in the group's activities, Bales has this to say regarding group leadership:

The laboratory findings, while still tentative, indicate that the man who is judged by the group members to have the "best ideas" contributing to the decision is not generally the "best liked." There are two separate roles. . . . There are apparently few men who can hold both roles.

In both the official and the layman's view, it is often the mediator's function to have

"good ideas." In many cases it is up to him to guide the parties toward a settlement by his suggestions and powers of persuasion: it is his function in these instances to be a leader in the task area of the group's activities. Yet because of the dispute separating and often alienating the parties, none of them is in a position to serve as the second type of leader, the leader in the socialemotional activities which maintain the group's cohesion. It is therefore hypothesized that the mediator may also assume this second leadership function. Furthermore, he dare not risk a decline in his own popularity in the group lest the parties reject his services, as they are free to do at any time. Hence, the data were inspected to discover the extent to which the mediators in these cases could be described as being among those few men the fulfillment of whose pro-

Table 1. Comparison of the Summed Profiles of All Mediators with the Summed Profiles of All Other Participants*

Area		Interaction Category	Per- centage of Media- ators' State- ments	Percent- age of Others' State- ments
Positive	1	Support	3.0	2.0
social-	2	Tension releas	e 1.6	1.0
emotional	3	Agreement	14.4	8.3
		Total	19.0	11.3
	[4	Suggestion	5.1	2.1
[Gives]	15	Evaluation	25.9	23.0
Task	[6	Information	21.6	37.4
Task		Total	52.6	62.5
	[7	Information	13.4	4.5
[Asks for]	18	Evaluation	4.3	1.3
	9	Suggestion	0.5	0.2
		Total	18.2	6.0
Negative	10	Disagreement	3.7	9.6
social-	11	Tension	1.4	1.8
emotional	12	Hostility	1.4	6.9
		Total	6.5	18.3

^{*}Neither of the percentage columns adds up to 100 per cent, because certain remarks originally included in Categories 1 and 4 were later excluded from the figures for these categories, but not from the total number of remarks made. The number of such instances was a small proportion of the total involved and applied to both mediator and other participants.

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³ R. F. Bales, Interaction Process Analysis, Boston: Addison-Wesley Press, 1950.

⁴ R. F. Bales, "Uniformities of Behavior in Small Social Systems," in G. E. Swanson, et al. (editors), Readings in Social Psychology, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952, pp. 146-159.

⁵ D. Pease, "The Relationship between Homogeneity of Growth Pattern and Social Interaction in Preadolescence," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, 1953, p. 63.

⁶ Bales, Interaction Process Analysis, op. cit.,

⁷ R. F. Bales, "In Conference," Harvard Business Review, 32 (1954), pp. 44, 50.

fessional function required them to lead in both areas of their groups' activities.

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As a measure of these mediators' leadership, their interactions during the sessions were compared with the average interactions of the other group members. The comparison between the mediators and others is contained in Table 1. The percentage of all (summed and separately) of giving support, giving agreement, and releasing tension by laughter; and less active in the three negative categories (again summed and separately) of showing hostility, disagreeing, and manifesting tension. The mediators' behavior was then compared with that of their parties. Table 1 shows that these mediators had

TABLE 2. DIRECTION OF MEDIATOR'S DEVIATION FROM REST OF GROUP IN AMOUNT OF PARTICIPATION FOR ALL INTERACTION CATEGORIES (TWELVE CASES)

H=Mediator's Percentage Higher than Remainder of Group L=Mediator's Percentage Lower than Remainder of Group

	Soc		Emotio sitive	nal					Ta	ask				Soc	ial-E Neg	motio ative	onal
							Gives	3		I	Asks I	for					
Mediator and Case Number		Suj		Agreement		Suggestion	Evaluation	Information	ď	Information	Evaluation	Suggestion	,	Disagreement	Tension	Hostility	
	Category	1	2	3	Σ	4	5	6	Σ	7	8	9	Σ	10	11	12	Σ
A-1		Н	Н	Н	Н	Н	L	L	L	Н	Н	Н	Н	Н	Н	L	L
A-2		L	H	H	H	L	H	L	L	H	H	H	H	L	H	L	L
A-3		L	H	L	L	H	L	L	L	H	L	L	H	L	H	L	L
A-4		L	H	H	H	H	L	L	H	H	H	L	H	L	L	L	L
B-1		н	L	н	Н	н	L	L	L	Н	н	L	н	L	L	L	L
B-2		H	H	H	H	H	L	L	L	H	H	L	H	L	H	L	L
B-3		H	H	H	H	L	H	L	L	H	H	H	H	L	H	L	L
B-4		H	H	H	H	H	L	L	H	H	H	H	H	L	H	L	L
C-1		H	H	Н	H	Н	L	L	L	H	н	н	H	L	н	L	L
C-2		H	*	H	H	H	L	L	L	H	H	H	H	L	L	L	L
C-3		H	H	H	H	H	H	L	L	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H
D-1		H	L	L	L	H	H	L	H	H	H	H	H	L	L	L	L
Total Me	diator Parties	9	9	10	10	10	4	0	3	12	11	8	12	1	8	1	1

* Tie

mediators' remarks falling into each of the Interaction Process Analysis categories is presented beside the comparable percentage for all the remaining group members.

The data in Table 2 are presented to show the direction of the mediators' deviation from the rest of the group, category by category, as it occurred in each of the twelve cases separately.

The Mediators' Leadership in the Social Emotional Area. An index of leadership in the social-emotional area of a group's activities was taken as the extent to which a person was more active than the average group member in the three positive categories fewer acts in each of the three negative categories than did the parties and that they exceeded the parties in contributions in each of the three positive-emotional categories. The case-by-case results summarized in Table 2 are only slightly less clear cut.

In eleven of the twelve cases, the mediators made proportionately fewer remarks of disagreement and of an outright hostile nature than did the average other participant. They made proportionately more supportive statements in nine cases out of the twelve and more statements of the agreement type in ten of the twelve cases. These mediators also made remarks of a tension releasing

nature, such as jokes or comments to the effect that "We're well on the way to a settlement," more frequently than did the parties in nine cases out of the twelve. They followed least well the prediction of making fewer negative remarks than the parties in the tension expressing category (category 11), where they actually exceeded the parties in eight cases out of the twelve. However, it may be pointed out that expressing tension by statements such as "Please don't think I'm being partial" is not properly regarded as a negative act directed toward others. Hence the mediators' high rate of activity in this category need not be interpreted as being completely contrary to the conceptualization of them as leaders in the social-emotional area. Rather it might indicate the difficulty which these mediators had in combining task leadership with the maintenance of the necessary rapport in these cases.

One further fact of interest should be noted in Table 2. All three cases in which the mediator expressed less support than did the parties were cases over which the same mediator presided. At a later point in this article there is further evidence which seems to indicate that this mediator's failure to give support was a peculiarity of his role interpretation. However, the limitations of the data did not allow such a conclusion with any degree of certainty, and it is rather the aim in this report to show that intrinsically Interaction Process Analysis lends itself to a description of both typical professional role behavior and individual deviations therefrom.

The Mediators' Leadership in the Task Area. An index of these mediators' leadership in the task area of their groups' activities was taken as the extent to which they were more active than the average group member in giving suggestions, opinions and information and less active in asking for these.

Inspection of Tables 1 and 2 indicates that in the task area, the mediators exceeded the parties in the making of suggestions—the category which may be regarded as the most directive one. Of their remarks 5.1 per cent, as compared with only 2.1 per cent of the parties' (cf. Table 1) were suggestions, and separate calculation showed that these medi-

ators made about 50 per cent of all suggestions made in the course of their mediation sessions. The writings of mediators ⁸ frequently mention that over the last twenty years a change has taken place in the role-expectations of clients towards the mediators with whom they deal. Formerly, content with a mediator who did no more than bring them together in the same room, the parties now expect the mediator actively to help in working out a settlement. The high percentage of suggestions made by these mediators shows that in these cases at least, they may have been meeting the parties' changed expectations

Table 1 also shows that more than 13 per cent of the mediators' remarks consisted of requests for information compared with 4.5 per cent of the parties'; 4 per cent as against the parties' 1 per cent, were requests for evaluations; and 0.5 per cent, as compared with 0.2 per cent, of the mediators' remarks were requests for suggestions. Thus, as may be seen from Table 2, these mediators asked for more than did the parties in all twelve cases. Conversely, in none of the twelve cases did the mediators give out proportionately more information than did the parties, and in only four did they state their views more frequently (Table 2). According to the criterion of leadership set up at the beginning of this sub-section, these results indicate that these mediators did not assume the role of task-leader to any great extent, except in the important area of making suggestions. On the other hand, a well known technique among mediators is to coax parties who are reluctant to negotiate into doing so by questioning them. Rather than the mediator's voicing his opinions and making recommendations to the parties, they are asked to state their views, defend them by adducing facts, and inveigled into making proposals of their own by being asked: "Well, what do you think should be done?" These mediators' high rates of activity in the questioning categories may, therefore, signify that they employed these subtle forms of guidance rather than crude and more direct methods of leadership.

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⁸ See, e.g., F. H. Bullen, "The Mediation Process," New York University First Annual Conference on Labor, April 27-30, 1948, New York: Nathan Bender and Company, 1948.

THE MEDIATORS' FUNCTION AND RELATIVE STATUS

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The restraint with which these mediators assumed the role of task leader in some of their cases indicated that their general status relative to that of the parties may have been lower than for the leaders of the experimental discussion groups from which much of our knowledge of leadership has come. In order to clarify the status level enjoyed by these mediators the method devised by Bales 9 for measuring the relative status of leaders and participants in discussion groups was employed. This method uses the rank which an individual occupies when his total participation is compared with that of others. As the number of acts received from others and the number of remarks addressed to the group as a whole (as distinct from remarks addressed to specific individuals) correlates with the rank of total participation, Bales recommends that these two ranks also be used as indices of status. The data from the mediation groups are contained in Table 3.

It can be seen from Table 3 that these mediators were the top participants in only six of the twelve cases. They did not invariably dominate their groups to the same extent as did the leaders of the student discussion groups investigated by Bales.

At the same time it may be seen from Table 3 that in ten of the twelve cases, these mediators addressed more remarks to their groups as a whole than did any other participants. Further, in ten of the twelve cases the mediators' ranks in terms of remarks received from others was generally equal or superior to their initiating rank. Perhaps others paid them the courtesy of addressing them even when the mediators had not spoken or said much to the parties. Both these results, taken together with the one described in the previous paragraph, indicate that these mediators did enjoy some special status in their groups even though it was not full, conventional leadership, and that Interaction Process Analysis might be capable of "catching" this special professional status.

In only two cases—B-4 and D-1—the mediators assumed top initiating rank, but

Table 3. Rank of Mediator in Mediation Session Groups in Total Interaction Units Initiated, Total Interaction Units Received from Other Members, and Number of Initiated Units Directed to Group as a Whole

Case	; Mediator's Initiating Rank	Mediator's Receiving Rank	Mediator's Rank for Number of Remarks Addressed to Group as a Whole
A-1	1	1	1
A-2	4	3	1
A-3	6	4	3.5
A-4	4	3	1
B-1	1	1	1
B-2	1	1	1
B -3	3	1	1
B-4	1	2	1
C-1	2	1	2
C-2	3	1	1
C-3	1	1	1
D-1	1	2	1
Range of mediator	_		
rank	1–6	1–4	1-3.5
Median			
mediator	-		
rank	1.5	1.0	1.0

were not the persons to whom most remarks were addressed. The figures indicate that these two mediators received more hostility than was expressed to them or to other mediators in any of the other ten cases. In these two cases the percentage of hostile remarks among all the remarks addressed by the parties to the mediators was 3.2 and 2.6 respectively. In the next highest case it was 1.0 per cent, and the mean for all cases was 0.9 per cent.

Further investigation was made to determine whether or not increased pressure from the mediators (in the form of high participation in the mediation sessions) was reacted to negatively, however necessary such participation was to solve the dispute. It was hypothesized that the increased pressure might have been reacted to as a transgression of what the parties expected of the mediators even though, paradoxically, the parties may have wanted the mediators to actively help in settling their dispute. To test this hypothesis and its implications, pre-

⁹ R. F. Bales, Fred L. Strodtbeck, Theodore M. Mills, and Mary E. Roseborough, "Channels of Communication in Small Groups," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (August, 1951), pp. 461–468.

dictions were tested by means of rank correlation coefficients: 10

1. The mediators would intervene more frequently when the parties were more hostile. This prediction was based on the hypothesis that it was a part of their role to help the parties most when the case itself was most difficult, and on the knowledge that inter-party hostility is related to the degree of difficulty in disposing of a case successfully.¹¹

In fact, a rho of .46 was found between the cases ranked for the percentage which the mediators' remarks formed of all remarks made and the cases ranked for the percentage which hostile remarks between the parties formed of all remarks made by one side to the other (inter-party hostility.)

2. As a form of sanction against what they felt to be a role transgression, the parties would become increasingly restive with the mediators as the latter intervened more.

A rho of .59 was found between the cases ranked for mediator participation and the percentage of hostile remarks among all remarks addressed to the mediator.

3. In cases where the mediators had intervened most, the parties would be most hostile toward the mediator because they were already in an angry mood.

A rho of .37 between interparty hostility and hostility to the mediator was found.

4. The mediators, in turn, would become hostile toward their parties as a way of handling their fear of the possible failure of the case or for other reasons.

A rho of .44 existed between hostility to the mediator and the mediator's hostility to the parties.

5. When attacked, these mediators would also become more anxious.

A rho of .33 between the mediator's tension expressive remarks (category 11) and hostility to the mediator was found.

6. In order to retain rapport with the parties, the mediators would have to become more supportive.

A rho of .37 between hostility to the mediator and the mediator's support of the parties was found.

In only one case could the null hypothesis be rejected at the 5 per cent level of significance. Nevertheless, all of the coefficients are in the expected direction, although this fact must in turn be interpreted with caution, as some of the relationships are not independent (e.g. a correlation to support the third prediction would follow from correlations for the first and second predictions.) At the very least, however, Interaction Process Analysis is capable of yielding data of relevance to role theory.

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Tentatively the accuracy of the predictions was accepted both for heuristic reasons and because the predictions agreed with the way in which mediators themselves speak of their jobs. Hence, the data were analyzed for indications of how these mediators might have overcome their status-limitations, for the task of persuading the parties to compromise had to be accomplished. One prediction (again based on what is well known in the field of mediation) is that the mediators' most insistent attempts at persuasion might have been reserved for the private sessions which they had with each of the parties separately. Mediators are likely to maximize their efforts during private sessions because their chances of succeeding are greatest at that time. Neither side wishes to give way in the presence of the other. In six of the twelve cases, such private sessions were held and recorded. Table 4 contains for each case and for the six cases as a whole, the mediators' activities in the joint sessions and their behavior during the private sessions.

It can be seen from Table 4 that in all six cases, these mediators suggested more, and also disagreed more with the parties in the private sessions than in the joint sessions of their cases. The other categories changed inconsistently.

The second manner in which these mediators might have tried to circumvent the limits of their power was by taking advantage of the presence of other persons—particularly lawyers and representatives from employers' associations—to persuade members of their own sides to compromise. The idea that mediation is a function which may be distributed among several persons at the session seemed to be as applicable in this field as the idea of 'functional leadership' in the analysis of leadership in general.¹² Unfor-

¹⁰ With an N of twelve, a rho of .51 is necessary for significance at the 5 per cent level.

¹¹ See Henry A. Landsberger, "Interaction Process Analysis of the Mediation of Labor-management Disputes," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, in press.

¹² Cf. C. A. Gibb, "The Principles and Traits of Leadership," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 42 (1947), pp. 267-284.

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tunately, the data did not illustrate this point, because members of each side did not speak to each other during the joint sessions with sufficient frequency to make statistical comparison possible. On a qualitative level, however, there was no doubt that such a process was going on, and both union officials and company personnel argued strongly for moderation during private sessions.

VARIATIONS IN ROLE BEHAVIOR

Variations Due to Situational Differences. The data were examined to find whether or not these mediators engaged in the activities These coefficients again fall short of significance, but are again in the predicted direction.

In the area of task leadership the amount of suggestion-making was used as one index of task leadership and the amount of the mediators' total participation as another index.

When cases were ranked according to success of outcome ¹³ (using lack of success as an index of the difficulty of a case and hence of the amount of task leadership required), a rho of —.47 was found between the percentage which the mediators' suggestions

Table 4. Comparison of Mediator Activity in the Joint Meetings and Private Sessions for the Six Cases which Contained Private Sessions: Comparable Percentages for Mediator's Activity in Suggestion-Making and in the Positive and Negative Social-Emotional Areas

	Sugges	stions*	Suggest	ions*†	Host	ility	Disagre	ement	Agree	ment	Supp	port
Case	Joint	Pvt.	Joint	Pvt.	Joint	Pvt.	Joint	Pvt.	Joint	Pvt.	Joint	Pvt.
A-3	0.0	1.6	0.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	1.8	11.5	0.0	5.7
A-4	0.8	3.0	5.3	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	4.9	11.5	11.3	3.3	1.5
B-1	0.0	3.5	0.0	72.7	0.0	0.7	1.9	3.9	26.1	18.1	1.9	2.5
B-2	0.4	2.1	12.5	41.7	2.2	0.4	2.2	5.6	24.7	29.5	6.2	4.6
B-4	4.5	5.6	82.1	80.0	0.6	1.3	1.4	3.2	13.4	11.5	4.1	4.6
C-3	2.9	7.7	59.1	75.0	1.6	2.9	4.2	10.3	14.0	14.3	2.9	4.4
Mean	2.1	4.2	40.4	51.5	0.6	1.0	2.2	4.6	17.4	15.3	3.5	3.8

*Suggestions in this column are substantive suggestions only. Suggestions of a procedural sort, concerning the conducting of the mediation session itself, have been excluded.

† This column shows the proportion which the mediator's substantive suggestions formed of total substantive suggestions made by all participants in the session, i.e., the figure for the latter was used as the denominator for the percentages in this column.

required of them—task and emotional leadership—when these activities were most needed.

It was hypothesized that in the area of social-emotional leadership there was most need for leadership when the parties were most hostile to each other and gave each other least support. Hence these mediators' behavior in the social-emotional area was examined in order to discover whether it varied in response to variations in the parties' relationship to each other.

It was found that a rho of —.37 existed between cases ranked for the percentage of supportive remarks made by the mediator and the percetnage of supportive remarks among these exchanged between the parties. Conversely, a rho of .32 was found between mediator support and inter-party hostility.

formed of all suggestions and a ranking of the cases for success of outcome.

Taking interparty hostility as another index of the prospects of the case and the size of the task facing the group, ¹⁴ it was found that a rho of .46 existed between the mediators' participation and interparty hostility.

Variations Due to Personality Differences. Finally, the data were analyzed for the extent to which Interaction Process Analysis was capable of measuring individual differences in role interpretation.

¹³ This ranking was undertaken separately from the Interaction Process Analysis of the cases. For further details, see Landsberger, op. cit. and dissertation.

¹⁴ Interparty hostility was found to be a fairly good predictor of ultimate success or failure. See Landsberger, op. cit.

First, however, it had to be established that such differences between the behavior of one mediator and that of another as existed were not due to differences in the types of cases handled by each mediator (i.e. not due to situational differences). Defining the "situation" once again in terms of the prevailing inter-party relationship, the cases were ranked 15 for the amount of (a) support, (b) agreement, (c) disagreement, and (d) hostility throughout the case, as well as for (e) hostility between the parties at the beginning of the case. The last was interpreted as a relatively good index of "the situation" facing the mediator, inasmuch as it correlated to the extent of rho -. 58 with the ultimate failure of the session.16

Employment of the H-test 17-a nonparametric analysis of variance-indicated that in terms of all five criteria, no systematic bias in the distribution of cases and "situations" between individual mediators could be detected. It could be assumed, therefore, that any systematic differences in mediator behavior were due to differences in the mediators, not in the situations facing them. The same statistical method was then employed to test whether mediators did in fact differ from each other in the exercise of their two leadership functions.

Social Emotional Leadership. In the area of social-emotional leadership, the cases were ranked according to the percentages of the mediators' remarks falling into the following categories:

- (a) the support category
- (b) the agreement category
- (c) the sums of (a) and (b)
- (d) the hostility category
- (e) the disagreement category
- (f) the sums of (d) and (e)

The results of applying the H-test to these six rankings are presented in Table 5. They

TABLE 5. VALUES OF H FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF ELEVEN RANKS OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL ACTIVITIES AMONG THREE MEDIATORS WITH FOUR, FOUR, AND THREE CASES RESPECTIVELY

Type of Activity	Value of H
Support from mediator to parties	6.96*
Agreement from mediator to parties	5.05
Support and agreement from mediator t	.0
parties	6.05*
Hostility from mediator to parties	5.39
Disagreement from mediator to parties	6.43*
Hostility and disagreement from media	t-
tor to parties	6.41*
Support from parties to mediator	5.59*
Hostility from parties to mediator	7.39†

^{*} Significant beyond the 5 per cent level of sig-

indicate that except for (b) and (d), high rates of activity or low rates of activity in these categories were probably not randomly distributed among the three mediators. Referring back to an earlier statement regarding social-emotional leadership, Mediator A was not only less active than the parties in giving support; he was also less active in this area than any of his colleagues.

Whether the parties in turn discriminated in their personal reactions to mediators was similarly tested. The cases were ranked according to the percentage which (a) support and (b) hostility constituted of all remarks addressed by the parties to the mediator. The values of H for these rankings were 5.59 and 7.39 respectively, again significantly different from a random distribution at the 5 per cent level of significance. This would seem to indicate that the same mediators always received most support from the parties, and the same mediators always received most hostility.

Task Area Leadership. Similar tests performed on these mediators' activities in the task area yielded no significant results. Rankings of percentages of (a) suggestions, (b) statements of evaluation and opinions, and (c) statements of orientation-information yielded H values of only .14, 3.07, and 4.30 respectively. These values do not even approach the 5 per cent level of significance. Analysis of the ranking of the percentage of the mediators' total participation in the mediation session yielded an H value of only 4.14. Almost significant results were obtaine three form of th Th

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¹⁵ Only the eleven cases of the three mediators with three or more cases are analyzed in this section.

¹⁶ Cf. Landsberger, op. cit. 17 Cf. William H. Kruskall and W. Allen Wallis, "Use of Ranks in One Criterion Variance Analysis," Journal of American Statistical Association, 47 (1952), pp. 583-621. For rejection of the hypothesis that ranks are not randomly distributed among three sub-groups of 4, 4, and 3 respectively, the value of H must be 5.58 or larger. For none of the above rankings did the value of H approach this

[†] Significant beyond the 1 per cent level of significance.

tained only with the percentage which the three question categories (i.e. asking for information, opinions and suggestions) formed of the mediators' total remarks (H=5.30.)

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e mef only e obThese results are contrary to prevailing knowledge in the field, where there is agreement that mediators differ distinctly in such areas as total participation, suggestion-making, etc. Using an ex post facto form of reasoning, this failure of Interaction Process Analysis to yield the expected results was interpreted as follows. First, differences in the vigor with which task leadership is assumed might in future studies be expected to appear only in the negative social-emotional area, particularly under Category 10, factual disagreement. It will be recalled that significant differences among the mediators were found there.

Secondly, it may well be that these results, even though not significant in a group of eleven cases, might become statistically significant if the size of the sample were increased. When other indices of task-leadership than the H-test were used, impressive individual differences began to appear. In the area of the mediators' total participation, for example, Mediator A had an average rate of participation of only 13 per cent, with three of his four cases below this figure and only one above (37 per cent.) Mediator B's percentage of participation was 40 per

cent with a range from 29 to 53 per cent. Mediator C's range was much narrower: between 26 and 35 per cent with an average rate of participation of only 29 per cent. These figures suggested that these mediators may have actually differed both in their average rates of participation and in the range of their variability.

SUMMARY

This article is an illustrative study of behavior constituting the performance of a professional role. Twelve recorded labor mediation cases were transcribed and scored by means of Interaction Process Analysis. The results were presented within the framework of Bales' theories of group activities and leadership.

Results were reported concerning the extent to which the four mediators involved in this study combined the role of task leaders with that of leadership in the social-emotional area of their group's activities. An attempt was also made to measure situational influences on the behavior of these mediators, and the manner in which Interaction Process Analysis could be used to measure role expectations and the reactions to transgressions of these expectations. Differences in the way in which individual mediators filled their roles and were reacted to by the parties were also examined.

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COMMUNICATIONS AND OPINION

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COMMENT ON AN ARTICLE BY VIDICH AND SHAPIRO, "A COMPARISON OF PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AND SURVEY DATA"

To the Editor:

In a recent article by Vidich and Shapiro entitled "A Comparison of Participant Observation and Survey Data" [American Sociological Review, 20 (February, 1955), pp. 28–33] the explicit a.m of the authors was to provide an external validity check of participant observation and the sample survey technique by comparing data obtained using both methods. In order to do this, the authors recognize that one must examine "the degree to which their results correspond to one another in areas where the two methods can be made to yield comparable data."

After carefully stating this qualification, the authors proceed in such a way that the techniques could not possibly be expected to yield comparable data. They have, on the one hand, called upon participant observers to rate all of those individuals in the sample, with whom they were familiar, on a scale of prestige in the eyes of the community. This resulted in a classification of individuals into eleven categories ranging from "non-entities" to "the powers" in the community. On the other hand, they have employed a survey technique consisting of sociometric questions which, they say, are also designed to get at prestige. All five of these questions have to do with identifying the leaders, preferred representatives, and most influential members of the community.

Thus, the two measures are based on different definitions of prestige and deal with entirely different proportions of the population. The eleven participant observer categories classify 62 per cent of the sample (the residual 207 cases were unknown) into divisions which cover the entire range from those who have a complete lack of prestige to those who have a good deal of it. Prestige as defined by this measure seems to be respect or deference accorded by the community for whatever reason. For example, the observers, in respect to their category (7), speak of prestige based upon "high moral standards, temperance, community activities, church

support and membership" and, in respect to following categories, of prestige due to being a teacher, having an *old name*, possessing wealth, political power, etc. provi

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In contrast, the survey technique is designed to deal with only the top of a more specific prestige continuum, i.e., one which has to do with leadership and influence in the community. Naturally only a small portion of the sample could be classified on this basis. As a matter of fact, a reworking of the data shows that only 26 per cent of the sample get any votes at all

on any of the five criteria.

The authors' Table 1 (p. 31) shows the correspondence between the measures of prestige provided by the two methods. It is immediately apparent from their table that the survey prestige measure, based on the number of choices received, merely serves to cut off the top of the prestige continuum as defined by the participant observer. The survey assigns to its zero category over half of the cases from each of the observer's categories as shown in the table, except for the 8-9 and 10-11 categories (which together contain only fifty-four cases, or 10 per cent of the total sample). Certainly the fact that the number of people who do receive choices increases steadily from the lower observer category to the highest, offers some evidence of the validity of the two methods, but as the authors themselves point out, it is difficult to speak of validity unless the data are comparable. One might also note the number of cases (classified fairly high in prestige by the observer) which score as low in "number of choices received" as the observer's "nonentities" and be tempted to speak of a lack of validity of one of the measures. But surely much of this is due to the different definitions of prestige. It is easy to imagine someone with "high moral standards" or an "old name" who would never be chosen as a leader.

While the authors' plan for investigating the external validity of participant observation and the sample survey method is an excellent one, and some of the points they raise concerning technique bias are well taken, we must still await a study which will provide a better basis for comparison before we can speak in terms of a validity check. Such a basis might have been

provided here had the researchers instructed the participant observer to select only those in the sample whom he felt to be most influential and to rate them on a scale of leadership. Or conversely, they might have retained the observer prestige ratings and used a set of sociometric questions especially designed to get at the entire range of social prestige. This latter possibility seems to me to be the more interest-

ing because of its greater complexity. In the light of our experience at Rutgers which resulted in the construction of an object scale of status (See Riley, Riley and Toby, Sociological Studies in Scale Analysis), it also seems to be quite feasible.

MARY E. MOORE

Rutgers University

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OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS

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NOTICE CONCERNING THE 1956 ANNUAL MEETING

The 1956 Annual Meeting of the Society will be held at the Statler Hotel, Detroit, Michigan, September 7–9. Joint sessions will be held with the American Statistical Association, the Rural Sociological Society, and the Society for the Study of Social Problems. The following sections and chairmen have been arranged by President Herbert Blumer and the 1956 Program Committee:

Section and Chairman

Social Psychology
G. E. Swanson, University of Michigan
Political Sociology
Daniel Bell, Columbia University
Social Organization
Harold Pfautz, Brown University
Small Groups
Samuel A. Stoffer, Harvard University
Human Ecology
Donald Bogue, University of Chicago

Rural Sociology William H. Sewell, University of Wisconsin

Race Relations
Ira deA. Reid, Haverford College

Methods of Research Leo A. Goodman, University of Chicago

Social Theory

Ernest Manheim, University of Kansas City Industrial Sociology

Robert Dubin, University of Oregon

Social Psychiatry
S. Kirson Weinberg, Roosevelt University

Medical Sociology

A. Raymond Mangus, Ohio State University

Urban Sociology

Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Vanderbilt University

Sociology of Religion
J. Milton Yinger, Oberlin College

Sociology of Education
C. Wayne Gordon, University of Rochester

Marriage and the Family
Paul Wallin, Stanford University

Population
Frederick F. Stephan, Princeton University
Criminology

Peter P. Lejins, University of Maryland

Aging and Retirement
Ernest W. Burgess, University of Chicago

Social Disorganization

Herbert A. Bloch, St. Lawrence University Teaching of Sociology

William L. Kolb, Tulane University

Community
Dan W. Dodson, New York University

Social Welfare
Murray G. Ross, University of Toronto

Introductory Statistics Chairman to be selected

Military Sociology Chairman to be selected

Communication and Public Opinion
Leo Lowenthal, Center for Advanced Study
in the Behavioral Sciences

Members may submit papers directly to chairmen, or, if there is any doubt as to the appropriate chairman, to the Program Committee, in care of Joseph B. Gittler, Department of Sociology, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York. Papers should not exceed 1500 words in length, and must be received by February 1, 1956, at the latest.

A limited number of the sessions will be devoted to critical analyses of problems of theoretical importance. These sessions will complement the usual sessions presenting reports on research.

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NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

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OBITUARY

Paul G. Cressey, 1901-1955

Paul G. Cressey died in Montclair, New Jersey, on July 7, 1955, at the age of fifty-four. Dr. Cressey was formerly Executive Director of the Social Welfare Council of the Oranges and Maplewood, New Jersey. He had served as Professor of Sociology at Ohio Wesleyan University and at Evansville College, Associate Professor at the University of Newark, and Lecturer at New York University. During World War II he was Public Opinion Analyst for the U. S. Government.

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Dr. Cressey received his M.A. degree from the University of Chicago and the Ph.D. from New York University. He is survived by his wife, Mrs. Germaine Poreau Cressey, who is acting chairman of the Foreign Languages Department of Montclair State Teachers College.

The First International Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders was held in Geneva, 22 August-3 September.

The Third International Congress of Criminology was held in London 11-18 September.

Institute of International Education. Attention is called to the fact that Fulbright scholarships for graduate study abroad are open to professional persons not now engaged in college or university study. Any U. S. citizen between the ages of 18 and 35 with a bachelor's degree is eligible for these foreign study awards. Applicants must be at the pre-doctoral level. October 31, 1955, is the closing date for applications for the 1956–57 academic year. Candidates-at-large may apply directly to the Institute of International Education, 1 East 67th Street, New York 21, New York.

The International Conference on Regional Planning and Development is being held in London, 29 September-2 October.

International Sociological Association. The Third World Congress of Sociology will be held in Amsterdam 22-29 August, 1956. The theme of the Congress will be "Social Change in the Twentieth Century." For information address T. B. Bottomore, Secretary of the Association, Skepper House, 13 Endsleigh Street, London, W. C. 1.

International Statistical Institute. The 29th Session was held in Rio de Janeiro, 24 June-2 July.

Air Force Personnel and Training Research Center. The Intelligence Research Branch of Officer Education Research Laboratory has been joined by Albert Biderman and Maurice T. Price, formerly of the Psychological Warfare Division of the USAF Human Resources Research Institute. Biderman is supervising a classified project in the Foreign Propaganda and Intelligence section; Price, specialist and advisor on the Far East, is editing for publication a number of reports of the former Psychological Warfare Division on the Chinese Communist regime. Other sociologists previously with the Branch are E. F. Shietinger, chief of the Social Analysis section, and Major Norman Green, who is receiving his Ph.D. at the University of North Carolina.

American Society of Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama. The Mid-Annual Meeting, Eastern and Michigan Section, is to take place at the Moreno Institute, 101 Park Avenue, New York City, on December 9th and 10th. For further information write: Program Chairman, Lewis Yablonsky, 90 Morningside Drive, New York 27, New York.

New officers: President elect, Jules Masserman; Secretary-Treasurer, Howard Newburger.

American Military Institute. The 1954 Moncado Book Fund Award was made to Otis A. Singletary, Department of History, University of Texas, for an unpublished manuscript entitled "The Negro Militia Movement During Radical Reconstruction."

The Moncado Book Fund Award is part of the American Military Institute's program to encourage study and research in the field of military history. Other aspects of the program include publication of the scholarly quarterly, Military Affairs, and an annual joint meeting with the American Historical Association. The Award is made biennially for an unpublished manuscript on any aspect of United States military, including naval and air, history. The current competition closes June 30, 1956. For further information address: Henry M. Dater, Chairman, Moncado Book Fund Committee, 1529 18th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Educational Testing Service. The Service is offering for 1956–57 its ninth series of research fellowships in psychometrics leading to the Ph.D. degree at Princeton University. Open to men, the fellowships carry a stipend of \$2500 a year and are normally renewable. The closing date for applications is January 12, 1956. Information and application blanks may be obtained from: Director of Psychometric Fellowship Program, Educational Testing Service, 20 Nassau Street, Princeton New Jersey.

National Institute of Mental Health. Additions to the sociological staff of the Laboratory of Socio-environmental Studies during the past year include Olive Westbrooke Quinn, Erving Goffman, and Erwin Linn. The research program of the Laboratory has been organized into three major sections: Social Developmental and Family Studies, Community and Cultural Studies, and Studies of the The apeutic Milieu.

Raymond Gould has joined the staff of the Pro-

fessional Services Branch as sociological consultant on program development in the fields of delinquency and other areas related to social work.

Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Clarence Senior, Chief of the Migration Division of the Department of Labor, has been loaned to the Jamaica government for a survey of Jamaican migration to Great Britain.

Russell Sage Foundation. The current program of the Foundation is primarily concerned with the utilization of social science knowledge in professional practice. In order to help meet the shortage of trained personnel the Foundation is offering postdoctoral residencies in operating agencies or professional schools for the purpose of providing qualified sociologists, social psychologists, and anthropologists with specialized training and experience relevant to professional practice in health or welfare. Funds have been made available for ten appointments yearly during a three year period. Applicants must have received the doctorate or have completed all requirements for the doctorate in sociology, social psychology or anthropology before the date on which the requested residency is to begin. They must be not over 35 years of age, and be definitely interested in making careers involving behavioral science and professional practice in either health or welfare. Appointments are made for one year with the possibility of renewal for one additional year depending on satisfactory progress. Awards may be made at any time during the year. Stipends range from \$3500 to \$5000. Applications and requests for further information should be addressed to Russell Sage Foundation, 505 Park Avenue, New York 22, New York.

Social Science Research Council. The following types of fellowships, grants, and other appointments for research or study will be offered in 1956:

Research Training Fellowships, predoctoral and postdoctoral, for more advanced research training than that which is provided in the usual Ph.D. program. All Ph.D. requirements except the thesis must be met before tenure of fellowship may begin, but application need not be deferred until that point has been reached.

Faculty Research Fellowships, providing halftime support for research for three-year terms, open to college and university social science teachers,

normally not over 35 years of age.

Grants-in-Aid of Research, to aid scholars of established competence in meeting direct expenses of their own research projects, not open to candidates for degrees.

Undergraduate Research Stipends, open only to college juniors, for supervised research during the summer and the ensuing senior year. Some appointees will be granted first-year graduate study fellowships for the next year.

The foregoing awards are open to students or scholars in virtually all areas of social science; the Council will also offer special fellowships and grants for work in certain designated fields:

Political Theory and Legal Philosophy. Predoctoral and early postdoctoral fellowships for preparation for advanced research. History of American Military Policy. Grants to mature scholars to support research on this nation's military policies and impinging factors, covering any period between 1750 and 1939 except that of the Civil War.

Slavic and East European Studies. Under the auspices of the Joint Committee on Slavic Studies established by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, grants will be offered by the latter Council for research, publication, and conferences relating to research, in this field.

In addition to awards to individuals, the Council plans to sponsor Summer Research Training Institutes of about eight weeks' duration in the following fields and possibly on one or more others, if suitable arrangements can be completed:

Quantitative Research Methods in Agricultural Economics

Survey Methods in Research on Health Problems

Population Studies

These institutes are designed to introduce active research workers at the postdoctoral or equivalent level to new methods or bodies of knowledge not generally available in regular academic curricula.

The Institutes in Mathematics for Social Scientists, held in 1955, will not be repeated in 1956.

Interuniversity Summer Research Seminars will be supported on the basis described in Social Science Research Council ITEMS, March, 1954, pp. 4-6.

A circular describing all of these programs in more detail is available from the Washington Office of the Council, 726 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. The circular will indicate the closing dates for acceptance of applications, which should be carefully noted as most awards are made at only one time in each year.

American University of Beirut. Lincoln Armstrong is now Chairman of the Department of Sociology.

American University at Cairo. Gordon K. Hirabayashi is Assistant Director of the Social Research Center.

Boston University. Frank L. Sweetser, Jr., Associate Professor of Sociology, has been granted sabbatical leave for the year 1955-56 in order to participate in the work of an Urban Renewal Demonstration Project being carried on by the Housing Association of Metropolitan Boston.

University of California, Berkeley. Kingsley Davis has been appointed Professor of Sociology, beginning with the fall semester, 1955-56. He will offer work in population, urbanism, and the family.

Margaret T. Hodgen, a member of the original Department of Social Institutions, retired on July 1, 1955.

Wolfram Eberhard has completed his term as President of the Western Branch of the Asiatic Oriental Society. He has been appointed a member of the Board of Editors of the following journals: Sociologus, Sinologica, Oriens, and The Central Asiatic Journal.

Philip Selznick was on leave during the second semester, 1954-55, on a Social Science Research Counci project Tar returne sabbati

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second esearch Council Faculty Fellowship. He is engaged on a project dealing with the sociology of law.

Tametsu Shibutani and William A. Kornhauser returned to the campus, Shibutani from a half-year's sabbatical leave and Kornhauser from a year's leave of absence at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences.

University of California, Los Angeles. Ralph L. Beals is spending the academic year 1955-56 at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences.

Ralph H. Turner is on leave for the fall semester in connection with his Social Science Research Council Faculty Research Fellowship.

Donald R. Cressey is on leave for the academic year. He is engaged in research on the prison system of Wisconsin in association with the Center for Education and Research in Correction at the University of Chicago under grant from the Russell Sage Foundation.

Richard T. Morris has received a grant from the Social Science Research Council to continue a study of the adjustment of foreign students. He is being assisted by Oluf Davidsen.

Melville Dalton spent the summer with the Institute of Industrial Relations. Alvin W. Gouldner, University of Illinois, replaced him on the teaching staff for the summer. During the academic year Dalton continues at the Institute on a one-third time basis.

Lewis W. Jones, Director of Research, Rural Life Council, Tuskegee Institute, is Visiting Assistant Professor of Sociology for the current academic year.

Councill Taylor has joined the staff as Instructor in Anthropology.

Manning Nash is Visiting Instructor in Anthropology for the current year.

The following candidates for the doctorate have received academic appointments: John I. Kitsuse, San Diego State College; and Sheldon L. Messinger, Princeton University.

DePaul University. James E. McKeown has been promoted to Associate Professor of Sociology.

Duke University. An Interdisciplinary Council on Gerontology has recently been organized. Fifteen departments and divisions of the University are co-operating in the project. The purpose of the Council is to co-ordinate research within the University in the field of gerontology, to conduct a continuing series of seminars, institutes and conferences, and to arrange guest lectureships to provide public information concerning developments in the field. Ewald W. Busse (Psychiatry), Eliot Rodnick (Psychology), and Howard E. Jensen (Sociology) constitute the Steering Committee of the group.

Fordham University. During the academic year 1955-56, N. S. Timasheff is on sabbatical leave. He has been granted a Fulbright actureship at the University of Groningen, the Netherlands.

University of Kansas. Howard Baumgartel has been appointed Chairman of the Department of Human Relations to fill the vacancy created by the death of Hilden Gibson. Baumgartel comes from the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan.

Waldo Burchard has resigned to accept a position as Assistant Professor of Sociology, Hollins College, Roanoke, Virginia.

Carroll D. Clark has resumed the Chairmanship of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology after a year's sabbatical leave devoted to research under a grant from the Fund for Adult Education.

William Delaney, from the University of Michigan, has joined the staff as instructor in Sociology.

John Gullahorn has joined the department as Visiting Assistant Professor and will teach for E. Gordon Ericksen, who remains on leave as a consultant in community organization with the State Department, being stationed in the British West Indies. Gullahorn comes from a year of research in Paris under sponsorship of the U. S. Department of State.

Toshio Yatsushiro has been appointed Assistant Professor of Sociology and Anthropology. He has been research associate at Cornell University, most recently working on the Nova Scotia mental health project.

McGill University. Oswald Hall, Chairman of the Department, has been appointed Visiting Professor of Sociology at Tulane University for the year 1955-56.

David Solomon of the Defence Research Board, Toronto, has been appointed Assistant Professor for the current academic year.

Philip Garigue was awarded a Social Science Research Council summer grant to continue research on the family in rural communities of Ouebec.

Aileen D. Ross has returned from India, where she has been doing research on changing family patterns.

William A. Westley and Frederick Elkin have been awarded a grant from the Defence Research Board to continue their research on persuasion in interpersonal relationships.

Middlebury College. The department of Sociology has been reorganized as the Department of Sociology-Anthropology. It consists of Alvin Wolfe, anthropologist, a new appointment; Russell Sholes, chairman and sociologist; and Dennison Nash, social psychologist. The department is set up to emphasize the integrated approach to the study of social life. Seminar and project-type classes have been increased, and the introductory course has been reorganized. Last year's projects included a study of dating on campus and a study of the geographical origins of admissions to the Brandon State School (Mental Defectives).

University of North Carolina. Gordon W. Blackwell, recently promoted to a Kenan Professorship in Sociology, delivered a series of lectures at the Conference on American Studies at Oxford University and lectured at the Cambridge Institute of Education at Selwyn College, Cambridge University, during the summer.

Lee M. Brooks taught during the spring semester (1954-55) at the University of Hawaii and is teaching this year at Whittier College, California.

John Gillin has returned to the Department from a year at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences.

Harriet Herring has finished her assignment as

a member of the late Governor Umstead's Committee on Reorganization of State Government and has accepted a new one on Governor Hodges' Committee on State Income.

Reuben Hill spent the summer on the staff of the Social Science Research Center of the University of Puerto Rico completing the analysis of the verification stage of the Family and Fertility Project. He is associated in this project with Kurt Back

and J. Mayone Stycos.

Following up research begun in 1947–48, John J. Honigmann spent the summer studying the Cree Indians of Attawapiskat, Ontario. Emphasis was on collecting personality, child-rearing and later socialization data. Co-operating in the research were Hans Hoffman, Elizabeth Hoffman, and Irma Honigmann. The project was financed by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

Harold D. Meyer is Director of a Study of Recreation for the Aging in North Carolina, financed by the insurance companies domiciled in North Carolina. He is being assisted by S. H. Hobbs, Jr. and Al Norman. Meyer is also Director of the new curriculum leading to a Master of Science degree in Recreation Administration.

Douglas Sessoms has joined the Department as an Instructor in the Recreation Administration

curriculum.

George L. Simpson, Jr. has been granted a Guggenheim Foundation Fellowship to complete Mid-Century South: The New Southern Regions of the United States, a book begun by the late Howard W. Odum. Simpson will be assisted by Katharine Jocher and Marjorie Tallant.

Robert Garren has taken up duties at Alabama Polytechnic Institute as an Assistant Professor.

William L. Kolb, Tulane University, and Manford H. Kuhn, State University of Iowa, were Visiting Professors during the Summer School.

A Small-Groups Research Laboratory has been built adjacent to the Departmental Library.

Northwestern University. Robert F. Winch has been promoted to Professor of Sociology. He has been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship, and will be in Europe during part of 1955-56.

Raymond W. Mack was on leave during the spring quarter and was awarded a Faculty Summer Fellowship to investigate occupational differences and social mobility.

Oberlin College. Gilbert Shapiro has been appointed Instructor in Sociology.

The University of Oklahoma. Reed M. Powell has been appointed Chairman of the Department of Sociology to succeed Wyatt Marrs, whose term expired September 1.

Gilbert L. Geis has been promoted to Assistant

During the summer Reed Powell taught at Adams State College in Alamosa, Colorado, and Gilbert Geis served with the Oklahoma State Crime Commission.

A program in Industrial Relations and Executive Training is being introduced under the direction of Reed Powell. It involves course offerings in the departments of Sociology, Psychology, Economics, Business Management, and Accounting. The Department of Sociology, in co-operation with other departments, has inaugurated an Urban Studies Program under the direction of Leonard M. Logan. The program provides a curriculum leading to the master's degree in regional and city planning.

Leonard Logan, Director of the Institute of Community Development, has received a \$50,000 grant from various Oklahoma cities for studies in

ind use.

The Pennsylvania State University. William G. Mather has been appointed Chairman of the Department of Sociology.

Maurice A. Mook has been promoted to Professor of Anthropology.

Ralph A. Luebben has resigned to accept an appointment at Iowa State University.

Arnold W. Green is on leave for the first semester, 1955-56.

Purdue University. Louis Schneider has returned to the campus following a year's leave at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences.

Gerald R. Leslie has been advanced to the rank of Associate Professor.

Harold T. Christensen has been elected to the Executive Committee of the National Council on Family Relations.

Robert L. Eichhorn spent the summer on a research grant with the Aluminum Company of America. His study concerned the roles which engineers play in factory organization.

Dwight W. Culver, as Visiting Professor at Evansville College this past summer, conducted one of the European tours sponsored by that college.

A workshop stressing research backgrounds in family life education was held June 27-July 2. Gerald R. Leslie was director and David Fulcomer, Iowa State College, was guest lecturer.

The Sociology Department is participating in a five-year study of cardio-vascular impairments among farmers. The study is sponsored jointly by the Agricultural Experiment Station of Purdue and the Heart Foundation of Indiana.

A marriage counseling service is being organized, and Gerald R. Leslie has been given released time from teaching in order to develop it.

The Department is also participating in a new inter-disciplinary curriculum in "Family and Community Living."

Saint Louis University. Allen Spitzer is in charge of the Graduate Program in Social Anthropology and serves as consultant to the Human Relations Center for Training and Research and its Workshop at Mexico City College. Spitzer has been promoted to the rank of Associate Professor of Anthropology. Plans are now complete for the continuation of field work on the social organization of tradition, begun in 1945 under a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. The long-range program has three objectives: to study the life, works and contribution of Robert Redfield; to investigate the approach which Redfield describes as the social organization of tradition; and to elaborate on the possibilities of a

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Syracuse University. Professor Emeritus William C. Lehmann, retired in June 1954 and for the past year John Hay Whitney Visiting Professor of Sociology at Centre College, Danville, Kentucky, has been awarded a Fulbright assignment as Visiting Lecturer in sociology at the University of Muenster. He spent part of the summer in Scotland in connection with a prospective volume on John Millar, eighteenth century law professor and "historical sociologist."

The University of Texas. Harry E. Moore has released the report on the study of the Waco-San Angelo tornado disaster. This two-year study was financed by the Committee on Disaster Study (National Research Council), the Research Institute, and the Hogg Foundation of The University of Texas. Fred R. Crawford was Field Director on the project.

Ivan C. Belknap, as consultant to the Texas Research League has completed the first phase of a study of the organization of the Texas state mental hospital system. He is engaged in studies of the administrative organization of state hospitals and their geriatric services. He has been appointed a consultant to the Texas State Hospital Advisory Committee, and is serving on the Advisory Committee for the Russell Sage Foundation project in Medical sociology at the Medical Branch of The University in Galveston. Belknap has been promoted to Associate Professor.

E. Gartly Jaco resigned from the Department in January to accept an appointment as Associate Professor of Sociology in the Department of Neuropsychiatry of the Medical Branch in Galveston. His research in social psychiatry is supported by the Russell Sage Foundation and the Hogg Foundation for Mental Hygiene.

Fred R. Crawford, for two years Field Director of the Waco-San Angelo Disaster Study, has been appointed as Assistant Professor of Sociology at Texas Technological College, Lubbock.

Claude B. Boren has a similar appointment at Lamar Technological College, Beaumont, Texas.

Russell Middleton, Jr., candidate for the Ph.D. degree, and for three years holder of a University Fellowship, has received a Fulbright award for further graduate study at Oxford University. John M. Ellis, University Fellow for the past two years, has had the fellowship renewed for 1955-56.

Tulane University. Oswald Hall, Professor and Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, McGill University, has been named as the first occupant of the Favrot Professorship in human relations at Tulane University.

Vanderbilt University. Andrew F. Henry has been appointed Associate Professor of Sociology, offering work in social psychology and methodology.

Wayland J. Hayes is a staff member of the Institute of Economic Development, sponsored by the FOA and Vanderbilt University. A program of training was given at Vanderbilt during the summer term.

Jay W. Artis and Ernest Q. Campbell, Research Assistant, have received a grant from the local Carnegie Committee on Education Inquiry to undertake further investigation of the determinants of student values and value change.

A program of research in racial desegregation of public schools has been undertaken by staff members and graduate students in the department. Ernest Q. Campbell and James A. Sartain are the field staff for studies of the Oak Ridge, Tennessee, public schools.

Washington University (St. Louis). David B. Carpenter is on leave of absence 1955-56, serving as Visiting Associate Professor at the University of Hawaii.

Stanley Spector joined the staff in September to teach courses primarily on the Far East. He has spent the last year and a half in Malaya on a Ford Foundation Grant.

Preston Holder has received a continuing research grant from the University for his study of pre-Columbian Indians in the St. Louis area.

Jules Henry returned in September after two years of research work at the Orthogenic School of The University of Chicago.

University of Washington (Seattle). Clarence C. Schrag, who for the past year has been in charge of Adult Correctional Institutions in the State of Washington, has been granted an additional year's leave of absence from the Department of Sociology to head the State Department of Public Institutions.

Norman Hayner has been appointed Chairman of the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles for the year 1955-56.

Sanford M. Dornbusch, Assistant Professor of Sociology since 1952, has resigned to accept a position in the Department of Social Relations at Harvard University.

Martin Martel has been appointed as an instructor to take over the courses formerly taught by Dornbusch. Martel did his graduate work at Cornell University and held a postdoctoral Ford Foundation Fellowship at the University of Illinois during 1954-55.

Ernest A. T. Barth, University of North Carolina, joined the department in September as Instructor in Sociology to teach courses in race relations and social stratification.

Richard Hill has accepted a position as director of a research project in the School of Nursing.

Louis Orzack and L. Wesley Wager will also be engaged in a study for the School of Nursing under a grant from the U. S. Public Health Service.

Calvin F. Schmid has been appointed to the Dental Survey Advisory Committee of the Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education. The survey will attempt to evaluate current and future dental man-power resources, needs, and training facilities in the eleven western states, Hawaii, and Alaska. The U. S. Public Health Service and Kellogg Foundation are active participants in the undertaking.

The Washington Public Opinion Laboratory is publishing a report summarizing its work in the past seven years. Copies are available without charge from the Department of Sociology.

BOOK REVIEWS



Sexual Behavior in the Human Female. By ALFRED C. KINSEY, WARDELL B. POMEROY, CLYDE E. MARTIN and PAUL H. GEBHARD. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1953. xxx, 842 pp. \$8.00.

Probably no serious scientific study has ever attracted the widespread public attention that the "Kinsey Reports" have received. When the first report, Sexual Behavior in the Human Male, was published, newspaper and magazine writers and public speakers rushed to spring samples of its fascinating findings on the general public. Almost overnight the book stores were inundated with buyers, the Report was a best-seller, and Kinsey became a household word. In all probability its findings have been the topic of more discussion, debate and controversy than any book ever published about human behavior. Lectures, sermons, articles and even books were written damning or praising it. Serious students of social, psychological and biological behavior were critical of its theoretical basis and substantive findings, but directed their major criticisms to certain aspects of its methodology. Less sophisticated practitioners and experts on sexual behavior argued indignantly that Kinsey's findings did not square with knowledge based on years of dealing with the problem or their own less ambitious researches. Many guardians of the public morals, whether institutionally or selfappointed, were indignant that Kinsey had had the temerity to ask his questions in the first place—much less report his results to the American public.

Against this background, the second report, Sexual Behavior in the Human Female, was eagerly awaited by both the general public and the scientific audience. A prepublication cor ference was held at Bloomington to wh. . representatives of general interest magazines, news services and leading newspapers were invited. Prepared summaries of the findings were given to the assembled journalists and questions were answered. By the time the book was released most of the writers had filed and published their stories and a large portion of the literate population of the United States had read at least a summary of the more important findings. Certainly no serious study of human behavior ever had more widespread and rapid dissemination to the general public than the report on the human female. Because of the attention that the volume has already received,

it is not necessary in this review to summarize its findings. What is perhaps more appropriate is to present an evaluation of its methodological adequacy.

Any evaluation of the present volume must begin with an understanding of what Kinsey and his associates were trying to accomplish. The purpose of the over-all study, of which this volume is only one of several progress reports, is an accumulation of an objective body of facts about human sexual behavior which would be adequate to reveal not only the patterns of human sexual behavior but also some of the factors which may account for these patterns. The project has been underway for over 17 years and is expected to continue for a number of years more. The eventual aim is to accumulate some 100,000 cases; only about oneseventh of this number had been accumulated by the time this volume was published. To achieve the purposes of the study Kinsey employed the techniques of modern taxonomy, which he had used with distinction in his studies of insect populations. Taxonomy is a development of systematic botany and zoology which has as its function the naming, describing and classifying of species and the higher categories. Modern taxonomy is primarily concerned with the measurement of variations in series of individuals which stand as representatives of the species under observation. As Kinsey points out, to do this adequately the taxonomist's sample ordinarily includes thousands of individuals from the species as a whole, collected so as to include material from every type of habitat and from the whole range of the species, with the individuals selected in a fashion which eliminates all bias in their choosing. When these conditions have been satisfied and the measurement and classification has been completed, the sample can be used to indicate the frequency with which each type of variant occurs in each local population and in the species as a whole. Beyond this the taxonomist also analyzes the factors which may account for the differences between individuals and between populations of individuals. This approach and that of public opinion research, at the time the Kinsey study was begun, were seen to have much in common; in fact, Kinsey stated in the volume on the male that, "Developed without benefit of the biologist's experience with taxonomy, the public opinion techniques are, nevertheless, an illustration of or not of clear the logical sessential istic of years age become shortcome in greate

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tion of taxonomic procedure," p. 20. Whether or not one agrees with this assertion, it is quite clear that some of the most glaring methodological weaknesses of the Kinsey reports are essentially the same ones that were characteristic of most public opinion surveys of 15-20 years ago and still are of some today. This will become more apparent as the methodological shortcomings of the present report are examined in greater detail.

The scope of the study is very broad; however, it is not as broad as the title of the volume implies. In the words of the authors, "It is a study of sexual behavior in certain groups of the human species, Homo sapiens. It is obviously not a study of the sexual behavior of all cultures and all races of man. At its best, the present volume can claim only to report behavior which may be typical of no more than a portion, although not an inconsiderable portion, of the white females living within the boundaries of the United States" (Page 4). Actually the report contains a detailed analysis of the following types of sexual activity: pre-adolescent sexual contacts, masturbation, nocturnal sex dreams, premarital petting, premarital coitus, marital coitus, extra-marital coitus, homosexual responses and contacts, animal contacts and total sexual outlet. For each of these categories an attempt has been made to secure data on the incidences and frequency of the activity, the incidence and frequency of response to the contacts and the incidence and frequency of the responses which lead to orgasm. Data on the various types of sexual activity are presented by age group, educational level, parental occupational class, rural-urban background, decade of birth, age at onset of adolescence and religious background. In a number of tables the data are further cross-classified to permit an examination of the influence of one of the background factors on sexual behavior when one or more of the other background factors are controlled. From this it can be seen that in terms of substantive coverage the present study has very broad scope. One is hard put to suggest areas of sexual activity that have been neglected or significant objective background factors that have been left out. However, it is also apparent that as in most "fact findings surveys" there is relatively little emphasis on anything but the objective facts, their incidence and a few of their possible interrelations. The whole psychosocial situation in which they occur, including their meaning to the persons involved, their dynamics and their consequence for other behavior, is largely ignored. This aspect of sex behavior, the social psychological, is of great importance and more emphasis should well have

been given to it. However, there is little or no place even in the modern taxonomic approach for questions of meaning and dynamics.

Perhaps the greatest methodological weakness of the study is in the sampling procedures employed. The method of sampling was to obtain interviews with members of formal and informal groups ranging in diversity from the ladies of church-affiliated clubs to the ladies of the underworld. Insofar as possible, all members of the selected groups or organizations were interviewed. No attempt was made to select either the groups or the individuals within the groups at random. However, the groups selected were chosen with a view to their potential contribution to the over-all sample, but no indication is given of how this was determined. In essence this is the quota sampling technique so common in the earlier public opinion polls. It differs from most quota samples mainly in that the controls are not specified, the number of cases is relatively large and the composition of the sample is presented in great detail. While this furnishes some basis for feeling that certain segments of the population may be well represented, it provides no assurance that the cases constitute a representative sample of any known universe. Furthermore, the failure to select the sample according to any system of probability sampling means that the results must be regarded as subject to systematic errors of unknown magnitude. Some of the major probable sources of such errors are the restriction of the selection of persons to members of identifiable groups, thus eliminating persons who do not belong to any such groups; the non-random selection of the groups themselves from the totality of possible groups; and the failure to interview all or a probability sample of the members of particular groups selected. Unfortunately, no way is known by which the defects in the sample can now be remedied. The only feasible suggestion yet is that of the Committee of the American Statistical Association which was set up to review the statistical methods used by Kinsey and his associates. They suggest that a small probability sample be planned and taken to serve as a check on the larger sample, and possibly, as a basis for adjusting the results of the large sample. (For an excellent discussion of the statistical problems of the Kinsey research, see: William G. Cochran, Fredrick Mosteller and John W. Tukey, Statistical Problems of the Kinsey Report, Washington, D. C.: American Statistical Association, 1955.) However, it would seem that if it is feasible now to undertake a small probability sample, there is little reason to believe that it would not have been possible to have used probability sampling earlier. The diffi-

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culties in obtaining interviews from a probability sample, although possibly great, probably would not have been insurmountable. It would have been better to have sacrificed either detail of coverage or sample size in order to obtain a probability sample. However, this was not the decision taken and, in the reviewer's opinion, has resulted in the major blemish of this research

undertaking.

The interviewing techniques employed by Kinsey and his associates have been sujected to a great deal of criticism by sociologists, psychologists and psychiatrists. In general it has been argued that directive interviewing techniques are not adequate for obtaining data on sexual behavior. This is a question that can be settled only by carefully designed research studies. Actually, there is presently no scientific evidence on which a judgment could be based. More serious is the fact that little detail is given about the actual interview except that (1) it covered 300 to 500 items of information, each with specific definitions; (2) the interviewers were free to vary the order or wording of questions as the situation required; (3) the questions were put directly and rapidly and in an order that was hard for the respondent to predict; and (4) the answers required were brief and to the point and were recorded unobtrusively by means of a code known only to the research group. Even if it be granted that there is no scientific evidence on the relative merit of nondirective versus directed forms of questioning for eliciting information about sex behavior, Kinsey and his associates can be criticized for telling so little about the interviewing procedure that there is no satisfactory way of arriving at any estimate of its adequacy. The interview schedule has never been published, consequently there is no means of appraising the questions. Since the interviewers were free to vary the questions and the order as they deemed advisable in the individual situation, there is no way of knowing how the questions were asked. Thus, to an unknown and unknowable extent the differences between groups or between individuals may be due to differences in the wording and the order of the questions.

The techniques of data analysis used by Kinsey and his associates are quite straightforward. For the most part the effects of age, marital status, age of adolescence, social status, generation, social mobility, rural-urban background and religious background on sexual behavior are examined. Sexual behavior is described in terms of incidence and frequency of sexual experience and the experience of organism in each of the possible types of sexual activity. To determine the effect of the independent vari-

ables on sexual behavior (both the individual types and the total sexual activity), age, marital status and educational level are controlled in the investigation of the remaining variables. While there are more sophisticated statistical techniques that might have been used in the analysis, it can be said that the techniques employed were adequate to the task and that the analysis was done skillfully. In addition, the presentation, though detailed and somewhat time-consuming to read, provides additional valuable information on a number of important subgroups in the population. Furthermore, because the basic analytical scheme was the same for both the male and female reports, it is possible to make a number of detailed comparisons not only between the sexes but within important surgroups of the population. At the same time it must be indicated that the adoption of parallel categories for the analysis of the male and female data resulted in failure to examine the possible influences of factors which may have a unique effect on the sexual behavior of women or which can operate only on women. The analysis of the influence of the comparative effects of the social status of the parental family and the respondents present status on sexual activity is well done and quite provocative. Likewise, the analysis of the influence of early sexual experience and subsequent sexual adjustment in marriage is imaginative. Effective use is made of accumulative incidence curves to show the percentage of individuals in the sample who have experienced a particular type of sexual activity by a given age. This, like much of the other analysis, assumes no change from generation-togeneration in the population and no difference in the extent or accuracy of recall. This is a serious weakness but one that is bound to occur in studies of past events unless the data are taken from day-to-day records or otherwise collected as they occur over time. Under the circumstances governing the research no other way of gathering the data on past behavior was possible. However, greater caution could have been taken to qualify the conclusions because of this weakness in the basic data.

In assessing the adequacy of the conclusions and generalizations of Sexual Behavior in the Human Female, it must be pointed out that although the title is much too inclusive, Kinsey and his associates have carefully and explicitly stated that their conclusions must of necessity be limited to the particular sample studied. Thus, they make no attempt to weight their findings to arrive at overall U. S. estimates. Because their samples of high school, college and post-graduate groups are relatively large, they feel freer to generalize about them than for

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This v solicited the purp matics o editor's other groups in the population. Once in a while they slip seriously, but in general their interpretations of data are guarded with proper scientific caution. One of their most common faults is to present findings based on a very few cases or on remote recall without sufficient mention of these weaknesses. By far the most glaring deviation from the otherwise quite strict conformity to the canons of scientific writing are their sweeping statements concerning public policy in regard to sexual behavior, which regardless of their sagacity, are unsubstantiated and unsupported insofar as the research is concerned. The reviewer has no serious objections to such assertions as long as they are clearly labeled as the value judgments of the authorsnor can one object to an interesting statement for which little or no evidence is presented, but such statements should be presented as provocative comments not established principles or research conclusions. This objection applies only to the thirteen chapters reporting the results of the survey itself and not to the chapters devoted to a summary of knowledge about the anatomy and physiology of sexual response and orgasm or to those on the psychologic, neural and hormoneural factors in sexual response. These contain the most complete and authoritative treatment of these subjects to be found anywhere in the compass of 200 pages.

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Despite the genuine weaknesses of a number of the methodological aspects of the Sexual Behavior of the Human Female, it must be freely admitted that it constitutes, along with the volume on the male, the most valuable body of scientific knowledge about human sexual behavior in existence. Nothing approaching it in scope, detail or scientific adequacy has ever been attempted, much less done. It is regrettable that some of the techniques used have inevitably resulted in an unknown degree of error, but even this fault does not mean that the results must be discarded or may be ignored. If this standard were to be applied to all other research on human behavior, most of the classic studies would have to be rejected—not only in the social but in the biological sciences as well!

WILLIAM H. SEWELL

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Mathematical Thinking in the Social Sciences. Edited by Paul F. Lazarsfeld. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1954. 444 pp. \$10.

This volume is a collection of eight articles solicited by the editor, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, for the purpose of illustrating the role that mathematics can play in the social sciences. The editor's idea was to present a number of cases

as examples of situations that involve both the social sciences and mathematics. The volume makes no claim to having covered in any exhaustive way the role of mathematical thinking in the social sciences, nor does it attempt to present all possible ways in which the two might work together. In fact, it actually deals with a rather limited range of problems. Its purpose is to give the reader a feeling for the present state of affairs, and also to suggest some directions for further development.

The contributors to the volume are Theodore W. Anderson, Nicolas Rashevsky, James S. Coleman, Jacob Marschak, Louis Guttman, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and Herbert A. Simon.

The first contributor, Theodore W. Anderson, presents probability models for the analysis of time changes in attitudes. The application of these models is illustrated by data from a study in which a sample of people reported repeatedly, during an election campaign, how they felt about various issues and for whom they intended to vote. Statistical methods for testing hypotheses and making predictions are developed for certain general models of changes in attitudes. Also, some models for homogeneous populations are modified and extended to take account of heterogeneity. Although the models do not seem to be motivated by a sophisticated social theory, the methods developed may be useful for the empirical study of hypotheses related to such

Nicolas Rashevsky discusses some extensions of his applications of mathematics to biology with particular reference to some aspects of social behavior. By assuming certain neurological mechanisms and also by proposing a variety of hypotheses concerning the effect of contacts between human beings, Rachevsky is able to develop some mathematical models related to the study of imitative behavior and the distribution of status. The models are analyzed and some interesting deductions are made that could be, but have not been, subjected to the empirical process of verification or refutation.

To illustrate how certain kinds of theoretical models of social behavior may be constructed, James S. Coleman presents an expository analysis of some theoretical models that were developed by Rashevsky. Coleman distinguishes carefully between the mathematical model and its specific social content, and he develops a classification system for the models and the processes which are involved. He also suggests alternate sociological meanings for the content of the formal models, thereby making it possible to use these models, or modified versions of them, to represent other social situations.

Jacob Marschak discusses the role of prob-

ability in the social sciences. He describes the concepts of "subjective probability" and "utility," and indicates their relation to some forms of human behavior. He also indicates some connections between probability models and problems of analysis and prediction in the social sciences, and shows how these models are related to problems of policy and action. The general field that Marschak reviews should be of interest both for the normative and the empirical study of human behavior.

Two contributions by Louis Guttman are included in the volume. The first article is concerned with the relation between mathematics and psychology in his theory of scale analysis of social attitudes. He reports empirical findings as well as speculations concerning psychological interpretations of the mathematical theory of "principal components of perfect scales." The second article introduces the notion of order factors in the analysis of a set of variables whose intercorrelations conform to a given order pattern. The relation between this approach and factor analysis is examined, and it is illustrated by an analysis of the intercorrelations among some tests of mental abilities.

Paul F. Lazarsfeld presents a very lucid conceptual introduction to latent structure analysis. He discusses the traditional problems of concept formation, and gives a description of the basic concepts and considerations underlying latent structure analysis. He also explains the correspondence between the logic of some social research procedures of measurement and the mathematical equations of latent structure analysis.

In the final article, Herbert A. Simon discusses some strategic considerations that have guided his work in the formulation of theories of various aspects of human behavior. He shows how some statements about human behavior can be translated into formal mathematical postulates, and suggests how this translation can be employed to draw new conclusions from the postulates. Some simple processes of maximization are discussed, and then more complex models of adaptive activities are developed for the study of individual behavior and behavior in groups.

This volume has something to offer to both the non-mathematical and the mathematical thinker in the social sciences. The exposition has been kept as non-technical as the subject would allow. The interested reader will have no difficulty in surveying the book for its general ideas, although those who have had no mathematical training will have difficulty understanding the book in detail. Also, the fact that there are unfortunately a number of misprints will probably add to this difficulty.

Persons who are anti-mathematics, persons who are pro-mathematics, and persons who are neither, may all benefit from an examination of this book. A variety of problems are discussed. and the problems are treated at various levels of sophistication. Of course, this volume represents a very early stage of development, and therefore does not exhibit the richness of mathematical application that one finds in some other fields. The reader will observe the present limitations (e.g., oversimplification, lack of sophistication, excessive complexity, etc.) and the achievements (e.g., clarity and consistency of thought, the use of formal deductive methods to gain new insights, the empirical verification of explicit theories using statistical techniques, the removal of apparent complication by the discovery of simple explicit models, etc.) of some of the mathematical methods that have been brought to bear on social science problems in this early stage of development, and he will see some of the possibilities for the future development of this field.

LEO A. GOODMAN

University of Chicago

Analytical Sociology: Social Situations and Social Problems. By Lowell Juilliard Carr. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955. xii, 795 pp. \$6.00.

This is a development from Carr's Situational Analysis (1948) which sought to break the tradition that "the best way to begin the study of social phenomena is to read about them rather than to look at them" (Preface, xii). In no sense a "rewrite" or "expansion" of the above book, which completely ignored social problems, population, stratification, and race, this book is a complete and even systematic text. It covers most of the material usually found in so-called standard texts, though in a somewhat different order and context. Book I emphasizes "science" and operational procedures while Book II deals with social problems and is about 150 pages longer.

This volume, like its predecessor, contends it is better to "look at" than to "read about," but it has suggested readings for all chapters in Book I, about 200 books in the Bibliography, and numerous footnotes, all of which implies that "reading about" is still useful. There are 14 chapters in Book I, each one essaying to analyze a major sociological concept, or generalized "situation." Book II also has 14 chapters, each one dealing with some problems pertaining to the analytical chapter of the same number, e.g., I;7 is "Conditioning Variables: Stratifica-

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tion Categories," while II;7 is "Problems of Stratification." The assumption is made that Book I, The Social World in Being, is strictly scientific, based on what is seen, on facts, on operational procedures; Book II, The Social World in Trouble, is not scientific, being based on values, feelings, what is wished, hoped, or feared. I is objective; II is subjective. Hence, in Book II there are no projects and no supplementary readings. This neat and simple scheme provides a reason for saying that the book is systematic, even though its "system" is only a dubious two-term dichotomy. However, it doubtless will impress some not too critical students as a rigorous "scientific approach."

Actually, it may be over-simple and too pat. Seeing and feeling are not so completely separated and antithetical as the schema implies. Nor are values so completely absent from research, or scientific research so uninvolved with values as the dichotomy indicates. A social problem is as much a social situation as any other social phenomenon and hence is as amenable to rigorous scientific research. Carr's own "analysis" or social problems seems as objective, as factually based, and as capable of being dealt with by "observational projects" as any of the material in Book I.

This over-simplification and false separation of values and procedures may convince the immature student that "one man's opinion is as good as another's" where values are involved; that science has no connection and no concern with values; that no functional relationship exists or is possible between values and science. All of these propositions obviously are untrue both by logic and historical practice, but the more widely they become "taught doctrine," the slower and more difficult will be the application of scientific knowledge to the solution of social problems. The assumption that scientists only see but never feel and that citizens never see but only feel drives a wedge between social science and its application, and the application of physical and biological science to social problems, which may prove fatal to mankind. Fortunately, the common sense of man is likely to ignore this view, as in actual practice, scientists have always ignored it. Science for science's sake is as silly as art for art's sake. Fortunately for man, his cortex and his viscera are functionally related; values and procedures are reciprocals.

It is doubtful whether most freshmen and sophmores can do the 14 projects required, plus the two running files on (1) U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations and (2) U.S. economic data by a specific industry or region, adding at least three clippings a week (to each file?). Presumably these files are to be analyzed or processed in

some manner; else they would be educationally pointless. And what is to be done with the additional 47 suggested projects? Surely each student will not do all of them, some of which would make good master's thesis projects.

Thus, in the attempt to be very "scientific," to do a great deal of actual operational observation, the result may be a great deal of superficial, haphazard, busy-work for students and frustration in excelsis for the conscientious teacher. Many of the students will regard the project as piddling, boresome, and obvious. Some will doubtless say "he is trying to make research sociologists out of us when all we want to know is 'what sociology is all about'—what sociologists have found out about whatever it is they are talking about."

Carr covers about the same material found in the usual text, but he has to some degree a language of his own: focus, focal field, in-presence situations, social gradient, ascription (as a process), and his own special usage for accommodation, acculturation, stereotype, and some other concepts. The institutional analysis common to most texts is almost absent in this book since institution is used in the broadest Sumnerian sense. Groups, organizations, anything "instituted," are "institutions." The term "situation" is so vague and all inclusive that it is doubtful whether it can be used as a rigorous sociological concept.

In general, the writing is clear and interesting. The factual material is copious and accurate. Pictures, charts, and tables are well chosen and properly expounded. 1:6, "The Cultural Organization of Work," is almost brilliant; "Race" is excellent; and chapter 11, "Situations Beyond the Horizon,"-Carr-ese for "communication at a distance"-is exceptionally well done. In spite of the author's almost apologetic attitude toward Book II, I expect it will interest most students more than Book I and contribute more to educating them for sane living in an insane world. For example, II:5 deals with adjustment to Family, School, Church, Crime, and Delinquency in a factual, objective, and (to me) scientific manner. All of the problem-chapters are good, though brief.

While I think the theoretical distinction between Book I and Book II is unsound and the project method of teaching Book I is of dubious value (if it is sound for I, it is equally sound for II), the book as a whole is excellent and and should be interesting both to students and teachers. It is attractively printed, has two useful appendixes, and a good index.

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It is too bad for social science that family sociologists, like most of their colleagues, are professionally deformed by having to earn a living through teaching undergraduates. Clifford Kirkpatrick of Indiana is one of the foremost researchers in his field, yet his magnum opus has the limitation of being a college textbook.

The temerity required to compose a treatise on a subject as variable and private and yet commonplace as family behavior is almost as great as the energy it takes. The body of literature which the conscientious writer must digest is larger than for any other specialty in sociology, not excluding the study of communities. We do not wonder if a standard textbook breaks no new ground, but may rightly wonder if the author remains unbroken.

But while Kirkpatrick's emphasis is less on pioneering than on integration of what is known, certain features of his book are timely and distinctive. Moreover his vast quantity of material is clearly organized in relation to a definite point of view.

The main distinctive features of this work are probably three: thorough attention to women's roles, a thoughtful evaluation of the trend to early marriage, and a definitive summary of all past work on the prediction of marital happiness. While they reflect the author's previous published studies, each is currently relevant. Two chapters out of the 23 are given to "The Changing Status of Women" and "Marriage and Careers." The issues that they sympathetically discuss seem as crucial for the future of the family institution as earlier seemed the same author's book on Nazi Germany: Its Women and Family Life. His interest in the continuing evolution of American dating as the liberalization of the marriage market makes clear that emphasis by sociologists on this phenomenon is not a mere accident of convenience but has a basic reason. His valuable appendix on all previous studies of prediction of marital adjustment brings up to date a service he first performed in What Science Says about Happiness in Marriage (1947). What is new, apart from the recent data, is the searching critique (Chapter 15) to which he subjects this major trend in family research; he may turn out to have penned an obituary of a famous tradition, despite his sympathy with the effort to predict.

On the other hand, with regard to launching future trends, his convictions about the nature of unexplored sources of variation in marital outcomes do not suffice to carry him far beyond

the settled area. Most of the chapters are arranged according to the current mode of distributing material among the phases of the family cycle. Such an arrangement exposes our need to understand the processes by which family members move from phase to phase through interaction with each other and the environing social complex. Kirkpatrick tries to meet this demand by proffering several key concepts: cumulative-circular (why not spiral?) interaction processes, series of family dramas, dilemmas, role transitions, careers, and the continuity of dramatic themes. While these concepts are illustrated from time to time, or invoked for summarizing data, the author unfortunately only hovers on the edge of using them analytically for explanation; nor does he elaborate them systematically as the basis for a developmental theory of family interaction. One possible exception to this appraisal may be his treatment of the vicious circle of alienation which leads to divorce. But no more than one page in his chapter on "Marriage Adjustments" actually comes down to direct examination of what goes on among family members. Instead he clings to adjustment scales and demographic statistics. As he himself says (p. 436), "The book on marital communication remains to be written by a sociologist, although it is not certain that his abstractions will add to the revelations of novelists and playwrights."

This writer believes that dramatic concepts are the most promising and appropriate tools available for analyzing and understanding the diverse kinds of development which emerge from phase to phase in the family cycle. Perhaps we may hope that having discharged his compilatory obligations, Kirkpatrick in a later work will yet realize the aim he has announced.

In both his introduction and his theoretical Chapter 8, the reader witnesses an implicit struggle and surrender: the author bravely asserts his dramatic thesis and then succumbs to the weight of vested approaches. Maladjustment, for instance, is finally defined as an impartial conglomerate of conflict, frustration, deprivation and disapproval, with adjustment by inference as the antonyms of these. Cultural lag is slightly renovated by adding cultural inconsistency. What starts out with some glimmerings of the potentialities of human development ends up with the final sixth of the book devoted to crises, divorce and therapeutic measures for family reorganization. Except for mentioning familiar remedial procedures, the vital question of how the findings of family sociology may be applied in practice is left begging in the bland affirmation that "the best path to the assumed goal of happiness and adjustment is, in the long run,

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To the extent that the reader seeks primarily the judicious presentation of what has been learned through family research up to the present, his feeling toward this solid and well-written work will be appreciation. But to the extent that he sympathizes with its original thesis, his response will be mingled with frustration.

The sins of commission are hardly mentionable and the evidence of scrupulous labor. A few mannerisms appear, such as a penchant for an obfuscating physical analogy, "prestige drainage," for diagrams that complicate more than they illuminate, and for abbreviations like COOS (companion of other sex). The minor omissions reflect the gaps in the existing literature: sibling and intergenerational relationships, the middle years of marriage, and sub-cultural patterns differing from the upper middle class. Plainly this is an excellent college textbook, but not the more general treatise on American families which would make it important to social scientists at large. Kirkpatrick's handicap is our loss.

NELSON N. FOOTE

University of Chicago

Truants from Life: The Rehabilitation of Emotionally Disturbed Children. By Bruno Bet-Telheim. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955. xvi, 511 pp. \$6.00.

This book is the most recent of a small but growing library on the idea of a "total therapeutic milieu." It presents four case histories, each running to something over 100 pages, of children treated at the Orthogenic School of the University of Chicago. Redl and Wineman's Children Who Hate and Controls From Within, based on the authors' experience at Pioneer House in Detroit, and Bettelheim's Love Is Not Enough, which describes the regime at the Orthogenic School, are the other classics of this new departure in therapy. I mention them because their discussion of general principles and specific techniques provide essential context for the present work. It seems to me that no student of psychotherapy with children, whatever his theoretical attachments, can afford not to read all four of these books.

The four subjects present very different types of behavioral pathology. What is common to all at the outset of treatment is an image of the world as dangerous, frustrating and capricious, growing out of prolonged and cumulative traumatic experiences. Their symptoms, ranging from schizoid withdrawal to violent and murderous assault, are intelligible in terms of their confused

and threatening image of reality, but they lead to progressive alienation from society, profound unhappiness and even self-destruction. Milieu therapy, as exemplified in these histories, provides a setting which is completely non-punitive, where all elemental satisfactions are guaranteed regardless of the child's behavior, where a rich and uninterrupted flow of love from protective and benign (and infinitely patient) adults repeatedly belie the children's previous experience. In this mileu the children are slowly emboldened to probe and test reality in new ways and to discover, in thousands of episodes of daily living, that conventional behavior may be more rewarding than their entrenched mechanisms of adjustment. The radical transformations of personality which occur in this process of fearful and tentative exploration in a protected environment take years; there is no question, however, but that the Orthopedic School has had startling success with the most appalling and discouraging prospects.

Bettelheim is a psychoanalyst. The book is moderately seasoned with psychoanalytical terms. Some of the cases present compelling evidence for psychoanalytical notions unpalatable to many sociologists. One who might scoff at "fixation at the oral stage as a result of early oral traumatization" as so much psychomystical gobbledygook will find it hard to talk about the case of "John" without indulging in language that is embarrassingly "Freudian."

However, the significance of the book far transcends its import for psychoanalysis. It is a mine of data which are theoretically significant and provocative whether one is a psychoanalyst, a symbolic interactionist or a partisan of one variety or another of learning theory. The "sample" of only four cases has a virtue which conventional statistical designs lack. Not only do we have indubitable cases of personalities who differed radically before and after treatment, we have a continuous running record of the years in between: the moving ahead, the stalemates, the backtracking, the new departures, all linked in the narrative to the children's experiences in a milieu where they were under continuous observation in all the sectors of their living. Despite the generally psychoanalytic flavor, the main substance of the book is description-concrete, episodic, vivid and detailednot too closely tied to the peculiar jargon of any intellectual sect. The reader will find it hard to resist reflecting on the implications of these data for his favorite theories. We are dealing here with events in context, recorded daily as they occurred, not with reconstructions of the past from fragmentary records and the patient's memory. The data may tax our conceptual schemes but they command respect.

I think that one must move with care from this book to its implication for "normal" children or for the treatment of children under conditions other than those of a total therapeutic milieu. We must remember that the children at the Orthogenic School range from 6 to 13 years of age at entrance, that their pathologies are severe and that they are there for treatment. Measures which would be indicated for a severely disturbed child may be as inappropriate for a psychologically well child as would be large doses of antibiotics for a physically well child. Nor does it follow that the use of the techniques of the Orthogenic School for the treatment of disturbed children but on a limited scale will necessarily do more good than harm. The experience of the School must have implications for those, including parents, who deal with children in other settings, but these implications are not self-evident. The temptation, however, to transfer the techniques of milieu therapy uncritically to other situations may be strong.

I do not feel that it is important to discuss in a review of this length my reservations or theoretical differences with the author. The important thing is to persuade the student of personality change that reading this book will be

a profitable experience.

ALBERT K. COHEN

Indiana University

Group Cohesiveness in the Industrial Work Group. By STANLEY E. SEASHORE. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, 1954. vi, 107 pp. No price indicated.

This monograph contributes to two mainstreams of current research interest, one involved with searching for answers to practical problems of organizational management, the other representing a "pure science" approach to matters pertaining to the primary social group. Three stated objectives of the study are (1) to add to our knowledge about the origin and consequences of group cohesiveness within factory work groups, (2) to contribute to general social-psychological theory on the small group by testing current theoretical propositions and by describing group phenomena as they occur in a natural setting, and (3) to expedite the application of theory to solution of such industrial problems as the efficient production of economic goods and the emotional adjustment of the worker to his job. With these ends in view, the investigation uses data gathered by questionnaire from 5,871 production workers of a machinery factory to test, by correlational techniques, relationships between group cohesiveness and three separate categories of dependent variables. The latter were constructed to symbolize (a) work anxiety, (b) productivity standards, and (c) situational or background characteristics of work groups and their members. A population of 228 "work sections," with memberships ranging from 5 to 50, was involved in the analysis.

The key concept of the study is "group cohesiveness," defined in terms of attractiveness of the group for its members, and measured in existential application by averaging response category scores of work section members on five questions. By correlating work section scores on cohesiveness with work section scores derived from application of similarly constructed operational concepts, Seashore comes to the conclusions that members of high cohesive groups exhibit less anxiety on the job than members of low cohesive groups, that they have less variation in productivity among members, that they differ more frequently and in greater amount from managerial expectations on productivity. and that the direction of deviation of group productivity depends on the degree to which the company is perceived by the group as "supportive." In his testing of propositions concerning the "origin" of group cohesiveness the author finds that "attractiveness of group members for each other," measured in terms of perceived job status, and "opportunity for interaction," as indicated by size of group and duration of shared membership, are conditions that facilitate cohesiveness.

This book merits the serious attention of social scientists if for no other reason than that it represents an attempt to order our thinking into a systematic arrangement of operationally-rooted hypotheses on a subject-matter of great research promise: group behavior. In fact, the study is so orderly, so well-written, and so scientific in deportment that only with great reluctance does this reviewer offer the following harsh criticism:

In regard to the author's third objective, linkage of primary group theory to social action, it must be said that this work gives off the distinctive aroma of "cow sociology." To improve the on-the-job mental health of your workers, organize your plant into small work sections of perceived high job status; such arrangements will induce group cohesiveness which will, in turn, reduce "jumpiness" and that feeling of being pressured for production. To boost output, first get your cohesive groups; then appear "supportive" by (a) instructing your foreman to "get in there" and "help the boys out," and (b) encouraging your workers to perceive that they are working for a good company.

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Administrators are not going to get very excited over primary group theory that prescribes such exercises.

DONALD F. ROY

Duke University

Intensive Group Psychotherapy. By George R. Bach. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1954. xi, 446 pp. \$6.00.

The book deals basically with the therapistpatient (leader-follower) relationship in a group climate that is primarily controlled by the needs of the members and the professional controls

of the therapist.

Fundamental to group therapy is the insight that the patient's fear of the group as destructive to the individual, is a neurotic fear. Bach maintains that the whole approach to psychotherapy through the group medium would be self-contradictory if the patient's fear of the group was based upon social reality. The supplementary data of the book supports the author's unique position of being both psychoanalytically oriented and a true student of Kurt Lewin's field theory.

The reviewer maintains that the rehabilitative qualities of the group processes evolving out of the interaction of persons in selected groups have been observed by sociologists before group therapy came into being through necessity during World War II. But sociologists are also aware of the destructive influences groups can have on the individual. This is mentioned because one can perceive the impression that any deviation of the individual from accepted social norms lies primarily within himself. Thus some questions arise: Are there specific social or group processes that lead to "good or bad" behavior regardless of the milieu? Is it the content of the group process that leads to acceptable or non-acceptable behavior? Since the goal of therapy is to enable the patient or client to get along in society without undue conflict with himself and others, the question may be asked, is there an all-inclusive group process that can lead to the fulfillment of this goal? This also seems to be pertinent: How does a group setting that permits free expression of anti-social behavior short of physical violence, lead to behavior that the patient and society can accept? If it does, what are the intrinsic qualities of the process (processes)?

The author's discussion of the selection of the group members and the method of recording used, including the use of known psychodiagnostic tests, and the employment of professional therapists, make a convincing impression that group therapy can no longer be identified with mere therapy through the group, or bull sessions.

Bach gives due credit to his fellows, but to mention only Le Bon, L. von Wiese, Vierkant, Pareto, (G. C. Homans the only American) as the ones who made the basic contributions to the group concept, must arouse the competitive spirit of the sociologist. Even if we add to the above mentioned European scholars G. Simmel, Max Weber, F. Toennies, and Robert Michels, who gave us much of the current sociophilosophical foundation and directed our attention to group phenomena, the reviewer maintains that it was American sociologists who developed a large body of classified knowledge based upon organized research.

It is also hard to understand why the author in his otherwise careful presentation of data should have overlooked the contributions of social group work to group therapy. A comparison of the professional literatures will show that group workers have long been aware of the educational and re-educational qualities of the group process through professional leadership. In all, Dr. Bach has successfully demonstrated that a practitioner can not only make contributions to science, but be himself a scientist. Thus he courageously continues the work of his two masters: Sigmund Freud and Kurt Lewin.

RICHARD O. NAHRENDORF

Los Angeles State College

Interpretation of Schizophrenia. By SILVANO ARIETI, M.D. New York: Robert Brunner, 1955. xviii, 522 pp. \$6.75.

This book is an informed analysis of the development, mechanisms and treatment of schizophrenia. It includes in its discussion (1) the past theories, (2) antecedent behavior patterns, (3) mechanisms, (4) stages and (5) psychosomatic aspects of schizophrenia, and then describes the diverse therapeutic media for dealing with this tenacious disorder.

From a psychodynamic perspective, schizophrenia is defined as a specific reaction to extreme anxiety which originates during childhood and which becomes reactivated in later life; the reactivation results in the adoption of "archaic mental mechanisms" and in the recourse to lower levels of integration. The basic theories involved in this analysis are those of (1)

regression and, (2) specificity.

The whole theory of regression in personality formation, development, and breakdown, is an adaptation of a kind of nineteenth century evolutionary orientation. Consistent with this orientation, schizophrenia is a regressive process comparable to childhood and non-literate reactions. Thus, in analyzing schizophrenia, the

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author traces the developmental levels of integration as an additive process; the relapse to a past level characterizes psychotic breakdown. The analogous condition of the infant's autism and the schizophrenic's autism, as an illustration, is taken too literally, and leads to the explanation of degrees of personality disorganization by successive levels of regression. This approach overlooks the emergent novelty in personality growth, the change of defensive techniques and the reorientation arising from past critical experiences. Its emphasis is upon continuity in personality development and upon latent dynamisms of the past which become manifest during overwhelmingly critical experiences and supersede existing modes of reaction.

This approach bears upon the author's interpretations of the social psychological aspects of schizophrenia, particularly by the processes of de-symbolization and de-socialization. Symbol acquisition consists of four stages: (1) signs, (2) images, (3) private symbols or paleosymbols and (4) social or verbal symbols. The workings of these normative stages of symbolization are described as follows: "Whenever a higher level is reached, the previous one does not cease to exist. These levels overlap in both directions, from the lower to the higher and from the higher to the lower. . . . Although man uses verbal symbols predominantly, he retains signs as is evident when he looks at the clouds to see if it is going to rain. He has images when he thinks about things which are not present and also has paleosymbols, most of which are used however, in his private phantasies, dreams, artistic productions and neurotic symptoms." (p. 290)

The process of desocialization is thus regarded as the substitution of private or paleosymbols for social symbols, which is of course, a throwback in development. This process also reflects the inability of the self to control its own reactions by imputing inner processes to outside persons, such as occurs in hallucinations. The alternative explanation could be that the person's capacity for role-taking becomes disrupted. Hence he projects attitudes to others that were formerly circumscribed as within the bounds of the self.

The theory of specificity is one of the crucial objectives for understanding all pathological manifestations from schizophrenia to colitis. But this objective can be attained not only by the use of the many disciplines pertinent to personality but also by designing a very elaborate and rigorous research pattern. This has yet to be done. But the author does show the diverse social, psychological and biological influences which contribute to schizophrenia.

The author has pointed out the problems

pertinent to the development, onset and treatment of schizophrenia. His position is consistent and his writing is informatve. He correctly shows the limiting influences of the somatic phase of this disorder; and he displays insight and thoroughness in characterizing the psychodynamics of schizophrenic behavior. But his use of an evolutionary frame of reference and his groping into the unfamiliar field of social psychology create pitfalls in an otherwise wellwritten, informative treatise.

S. KIRSON WEINBERG

Roosevelt University

Disorders of Character: Persistent Enuresis. Juvenile Delinquency and Psychopathic Personality. By JOSEPH J. MICHAELS. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1955. x. 148 pp. \$4.75.

This is a review and summary of numerous papers published by the author over a period of 18 years presenting both descriptive materials and interpretations of research findings. The descriptive materials have to do with the incidence and age of cessation of enuresis in normal children, psychiatric patients, delinquents, and psychopathic persons. Enuresis was considered to exist if incontinence occurred once or more per week after age three. The data are simply tabulated under number and percentage column headings which show the incidence of enuresis in various sample groups and its persistence after 10 years of age. The percentage of incidence ranges from 24.7 for "normal" children to 58 per cent for a group of New York problem children. Figures for persistent enuresis are given as percentages of those who had enuresis. The ages beyond which enuresis persisted were comparable for five of the samples but either were not given or were for five years in four of the samples. Percentages of persistent enuresis ranged from 15.7 for the "normal" children to 94.9 for a group of Detroit delinquents.

From these and other data the author claims a significant positive association between persistent enuresis, anti-social traits, neurotic traits, abnormal electroencephalograms, juvenile delinquency and psychopathic personality. These in turn become the basis for the author's theory that persistent enuresis is a function of a malintegrated personality type resting on a constitutional, psychosomatic foundation, which is characterized by immaturity, "primitiveness," impulsiveness and lack of control. Persistent enuresis is a manifestation of this personality configuration in the "biopsychic" sphere; delinquency and psychopathic personality express the personality defect in the "psycho-social" sphere.

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The author's orientation is definitely Freudian although he is no cultist. He gently chides Freud for having ignored the urethra as what might pardonably be called a wellspring of personality and with the exception of a more Freudian slip or two looks upon his interpretations as hypotheses calling for further research.

Sociologists who read this book will be bothered by the sample of "normal" Detroit camp children who were used as a control group. They were from a middle income group and their age range was from 6 to 19 with the average between 11 or 12 years. By rough estimate 35 or 40 per cent of them simply were in no position to qualify for persistent enuresis, i.e., that persisting after 10 years of age. The suspicion that the delinquents and other groups may have come from lower income groups and were older scarcely can be ignored.

This treatise is barren of any attempts to show the function of social and cultural phenomena in the failure of children and adults to acquire sphincter control; the closest brush with a sociological formulation in the author's thinking is some speculation as to the relation of the personality type he postulates to "com-

pulsive" social structure.

The author has done yeoman service in bringing together factual materials on enuresis and in pointing the way for further research on a subject with important social implications. Within his frame of reference his insights are provocative and cogently put.

EDWIN M. LEMERT

University of California, Davis

They Thought They Were Free: The Germans 1933-45. By MILTON MAYER, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955. xii, 346 pp. \$4.75.

Mayer is a journalist. He is also a man of convictions and a courageous man. Though he is an American, a Jew, and of German descent, he emphasizes that Nazis are—after all—human beings, that most of us have not acted very differently from most of them under comparable circumstances, that American occupation and post-occupation policies have had practically no influence on German thinking, and that the United States is pushing Germany now back onto the path of militarism that always has led her to her and the world's worst disasters.

His book is largely based on the case histories of ten members of the National Socialist German Laborers' Party in a small town, referred to as "Kronenberg." For the sake of small advantages and of small fears, these ten lower middle class citizens joined a party which gave

them jobs and security, heightened self esteem, a chance to fight Communism, and other objective and subjective advantages. They knew and cared little about its program, except that it was antisemitic which they had always been and that it proposed to do away with parliamentarism which they had always despised for its inefficiency and indecision. When rumors of atrocities reached them, they disbelieved them. When ordered to commit them themselves, they obeyed legitimate authority, with or without enthusiasm, according to the effectiveness of the preceding propaganda preparations. They are no monsters and they are no heroes, they are just people.

Mayer's comparisons with American behavior in the matter of the deportation of Japanese citizens during the war on the one hand, in matters concerning the Jenner and McCarthy proceedings on the other, must be

shamefacedly accepted.

Having localized the original sin of his ten cases in general human nature, Mayer still feels it necessary to explain it also in terms of specific German culture. The history of militarism and absolutism and the history of the German unification, the failure of the revolution of 1848 with the ensuing emigration of the liberals, and before that the history of the Lutheran reformation and the Peasants' War are reviewed. Special blame is laid at the door of German education-an institution which Mayer does not seem to know very well-and at the door of the church which is said to be too far removed from the people. The Catholic Church is given a somewhat better certificate of health than the Lutheran state church, though the reported cases might as well justify the opposite interpretation. At one point in the book a Nazi is defined as any German without religion, which causes the reader to wonder what religion the many millions of Communists and of socialist "free-thinkers" may recently have adopted. It is here that the journalisticpoetic approach of empathy and "Verstehen" which the author obviously uses shows its inherent weakness most clearly: intuitive role taking is not a valid substitute for solid quantitative and qualitative information.

The final chapters deal with the complete turn-about of American policy toward Germany. This is dramatically illustrated by holding up two quotations of General Eisenhower—"The war-making power of Germany should be eliminated." (1944) and "If the Allies were to rearm the Germans, they would be repudiating a whole series of agreements. It has been announced officially in Washington, London, and Paris that no such action is contemplated."

(1950)—for comparison with present day Presidential utterances.

The strength of the book lies in the conviction it carries. It is an appeal rather than a source book, and it is a strong appeal. It is in the use of materials for the substantiation of the appeal that the social scientist cannot help but notice and deplore certain weaknesses. Is a sample of ten men really enough to generalize from it about the behavior of 60 to 80 million people, about half of them women? And how much information was actually drawn from these ten men by a writer who reports that he did not speak the language of these men nor did they speak his. It may be that he learned the language as he stayed with them for a year, but the English translations of German texts included in the book still show an abandoned freedom and a high disregard for detail.

The book should be given to young people who study sociology, political science, history, etc. The appeal it contains is addressed to them and they should hear it. Then, they should be asked to compare its method of empathy and intuition with the methods of empirical research, the method of journalism with the method of science. If finally, they derive some hypotheses from it for further study, the book will have served many valuable purposes.

FRANZ ADLER

University of Arkansas

Educating Women for a Changing World. By KATE HEVNER MUELLER. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954. ix, 302 pp. \$4.75.

This book, by a former dean of women who currently is a professor in a school of education, is directed toward the layman. It is written in a sprightly manner, without dependence upon professional jargon. The book includes several brief discussions of social class differences and their relation to education; social class also creeps into the general discussion of employment of women that forms most of the chapter on "Education for Earning." Nevertheless, on the whole the book is limited to a discussion of college education.

Mrs. Mueller's point of view is stated in the first two chapters. The apparent differences between men and women are not based upon biological differences but have grown out of a culture that historically has established one set of roles for men and another for women. The author concedes differences in sexual organs and functions, but believes that the interpretations of these functions are culturally inspired. For instance, the care of children belongs to the mother because culture—not nature—so

decreed. The traditional homemaking role for women was seriously distorted by the Industrial Revolution, and many women now struggle to fulfill their needs outside the homemaking area. In their efforts they are opposed both by traditionally-minded homemakers who still find fulfillment at home, and by men, who resist the changes that would be necessary in their own roles if women were admitted to their occupations. Nevertheless, the author states. women must not give up the struggle and retreat into preoccupation with husband and home. This withdrawal is in reality retrogression, "a pernicious kind of isolationism, when the modern trend is toward one world for men and women, toward a fraternity of interests and activities" (p. 62).

Having established her point of view, the author then presents a series of chapters on education for earning, dating and mating, homemaking, citizenship, politics, and leisure. The chapters are less concerned with actual types of education, courses, and curricula than with the social conditions surrounding each type of activity. In general the chapters are objective and discerning. The chapter on homemaking and part of the chapter on dating and mating, however, show a different temper. Individualism is overemphasized in these chapters and a genuine fear is expressed concerning women who find fulfillment in rearing their children and creating a home. Marriage and children are viewed as "draining off" creative talent, which then is lost to the world. A warning is issued against the wife's submerging her personality in that of her husband, thus creating a situation that "is a recognized barrier to lasting mental health and emotional maturity" (p. 136). Children are somehow to be given a sense of emotional security, but it is not necessary for the mother to spend very much time with them. The goal of education for family life is to provide the combination of intellectual and emotional growth which will free him [woman, man, or child] to work out independently a life that satisfies both his needs and his capacities" (p. 138). In general the attitude toward marriage-and especially early marriage-is negative, and the family as a primary group is seriously devalued. In contrast to Mrs. Mueller's highly individualistic point of view is the growing emphasis of child psychologists upon the importance of the loving mother who cares for her own children and the studies of family sociologists which show the importance to personality growth of family unity and identification, and mutual care and concern for one

In the demand for not only equality but identity of roles for men and women, it is

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interesting to note that Mrs. Mueller accepts without question the fact that men should take the active (or fighting) role in military service (p. 145).

The book closes with three rather general chapters on education and colleges, which should be of interest both to teachers and parents. The book contains much general information on the social situations within which women try to establish their roles and raises stimulating questions that are in need of answers through education.

RUTH SHONLE CAVAN

Rockford College Rockford, Illinois

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Applied Principles of Educational Sociology: A Functional Approach to Understanding Community and Educative Processes. Edited by HAROLD R. BOTTRELL. Harrisburg: The Stackpole Company, 1954. xix, 392 pp. \$4.50.

This book represents an attempt to analyze and make explicit the purposes, functions and activities of education in the community setting. It is organized around a set of principles designed to explain the relationship between society and the school. The principles are then given implementation by what the author terms the "best" practices. Numerous projects, activities and investigations are suggested to provide what is called "reality practice situations."

The field known as educational sociology until recently has had an ill-defined status as a rubric under which there was included a mosaic of contributions to education by sociologists and discussions of the relationships of school and society by educators. While it cannot be said that the half dozen recent books in educational sociology show much agreement in content, it should be noted that research and activity in this field seem to focus on the following areas: (1) general social orientation of the school; (2) school and community relations; (3) child socialization; (4) teacher roles and behavior; (5) the culture of the school and (6) interpersonal relations in the school.

This book and the companion volume by the same author under the title, Educational Sociology, concern themselves largely with school and community relations. Portions of the book are devoted to the behavior of children and of teachers but always in the community context.

In the arrangement of content the following general topics are treated: educative processes in the community, understanding the community, understanding children and youth, understanding educative agencies and resources, utilizing community resources and experiences, developing special competencies.

The book is not directed to the professional sociologist seeking an institutional analysis of the role of the school in American society. The author is content to allow others to handle the more abstract formulations and theoretical interpretations of the school. The book is directed to teachers and community workers dealing with practical problems in bringing the school and community into common focus in the learning process.

Case materials are used abundantly with documentation from studies in education, psychology, anthropology and sociology. The latter includes numerous studies in the fields of community investigation and description, social class and the school, and child socialization in response to varied community influences.

The many cases, the many practical suggestions as to ways of implementing the community concept of education into the action arena make it a very useful addition to the rapidly growing literature in educational sociology. The critical question however needs to be raised in the community and school approach as to the role of the community in the larger society, lest one's enthusiasm for the community blind him to the function of regional and national cultures of which the community is but a segment.

ORDEN SMUCKER

Michigan State College

Educational Sociology: A Resource Book for Teachers and Community Workers. Edited by HAROLD R. BOTTRELL with the collaboration of RUSSELL H. BROADHEAD. Harrisburg: The Stackpole Company, 1954. xxv, 473 pp. \$5.25.

This book is a companion volume to the one entitled, Applied Principles of Educational Sociology by the same author and is termed a resource book. It consists largely of materials excerpted from educational publications dealing with techniques, programs and processes in local communities which further the educative process.

The organization of content is parallel to its companion volume and in each instance this represents an implementation into community action of the principles developed in the other book. As in the case of the companion volume, this book is related to the standard works in the field of educational sociology by means of the commentary and correlation tables which show where materials similar to those dealt with in the Bottrell books can be secured in other texts.

An important aspect of this book is the

attempt to sensitize teachers to the resources for education existing in the local community. how they may be identified and how they may be used in a variety of practical or applied situations of learning. In this volume there is considerably less than in the companion book in the way of sociological and empirical materials. Instead the excerpts are largely journalistic descriptions of techniques used by particular communities in their handling of particular problems largely in relation to the school.

This book might well have been titled, A Handbook For Community Workers, with its detailed discussion of community action programs and community resource utilization. This type of material is needed for public school people who are anxious to infuse community reality into the formalized structure of the classroom. On the value premise that a community should be totally mobilized for education these materials should be of considerable

help to school people.

The reviewer expresses the hope that a third volume will emerge in this series which will report on the evaluation of types of community programs reported in these two volumes; the learning outcomes of community oriented education as compared to the more traditional patterns; gathering together empirical materials dealing with social pressures on the schools, the power structure in the community, and the relative effectiveness of different kinds of action programs.

ORDEN SMUCKER

Michigan State College

Existenzialismus und Rechtswissenschaft. By GEORG COHN. Basel: Kommissionsverlag Helbing und Lichtenhahn, 1955. 191 pp. No price indicated.

This book, an application of the ideas of existentialist philosophy to the field of jurisprudence, should be of great interest to sociologists as well as to the students of law for whom it was primarily written. Its interest lies primarity in an investigation into the nature of norms and in the findings of this investigation which are more in keeping with the practice of empirical sociology than some views on the same matter current today among some American sociological theorists.

Georg Cohn, a member of the International Court of Arbitration at the Hague, feels that the customary way of considering the legal norm as being temporally as well as logically prior to the specific judicial decision is a survival of preliterate thinking or of Platonic and Thomistic philosophy and has no justification in the modern

world. It is wrong, says Cohn, to assume that justice is done by establishing that a given case participates in the essence of a general legal concept. Rather, law is created specifically in every specific case. Generalizations can be inferred from these individual cases. Actual law however exists only in the specific cases and in their concrete circumstances and solutions. The generalization is not the law. This corresponds to the existentialist thesis that a thing is the totality of its manifestations and nothing else. Thus the continuous stream of legal development manifests itself in and consists of the totality of all judicial decisions in all specific cases-and nothing else.

Statutes, common law, cases, and codes are orders of the legislator-whoever he may be in different cultures and under different constitutions-to the judges on how to decide certain types of cases and promises to the subjects or citizens as to the way in which they will be dealt with in such typical cases. As such they are part of the circumstances of each case arising in court. But these arising cases are never typical. They cannot be dealt with according to these prescriptions and promises, except after being stripped of all their specific and concrete circumstances, and then recourse must often be taken to analogy or reasoning a fortiori or e contrario so as to achieve an apparent agreement between the case and the pre-existing norm. Why do judges turn to such machinations and subterfuges? They develop an idea of what the just disposition of the given case would be from a study of the specific circumstances of the specific case; then they try to find a foundation for this judgment or verdict within the general norms. This psychological view of the author coincides with the personal experiences gained by this reviewer in some years of practice in Austrian courts of law.

These views lead the author to recommend certain reforms some of which have been recommended for many years by sociologists, although for different reasons. The medieval ceremonialism of the court room is to be replaced by the civilized atmosphere of the council table. Around it meet the parties to the civil or criminal case, the witnesses, and the experts. Among them sit the judges, of whom there are always several: at least three jurists with an extended experience in human affairs which has not been gained on the bench, but in other pursuits of life. In addition to these representatives of governmental power, there are to be experts in the fields in which the conflict is located as well as psychologists, psychiatrists, etc., wherever this might be useful. The total panel is to be a representative sample of the total population so that lay members from all walks of life will have to be

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that t contri sophic science of soli included in addition to the experts. In this democratic situation, the emphasis of the procedure will lie on the creation of new law rather than the application of the old norms. Legal training will have to be reformed in accordance with this new aim.

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Cohn's book is well reasoned and well written. Though burdened with a weighty message, the book is short, its language clear and simple, so that most American sociologists will find it readable. The author uses his experience in an international court with great success to point up the absurdity of the traditional conceptions of law. One might wish that the new jurisprudence and the new court procedure were described in some more detail. But this task may have been left purposely for another book. Criminal law and criminal procedure of Greenland are however pointed out as examples of modern legal thinking. It appears, from the few indications given in the book, that this code may well merit study by American criminologists and penologists.

To this reader, the book happens to suggest a further thought: The German sociologists of the turn of the century whose present-day American *epigoni* exert their influence in current American theory were trained in law or received their training wholly or partially from economists and political scientists who taught in law schools. Is it surprising, then, that antiquated conceptions of laws and norms tend to confuse present day sociological thinking?

FRANZ ADLER

University of Arkansas

Déterminismes sociaux et liberté humaine: Vers l'étude sociologique des cheminements de la liberté. By GEORGES GURVITCH. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955. 301 pp. No price indicated.

The title of the work highlights its double task. In the first place, it aims to profit from the developments that have led in recent decades to a revision of the idea of determinism in science—and to apply these to sociology by formulating and classifying the accentuated relativity and multiplicity of "social determinisms." The second task is to appraise and classify the chances and degrees of human liberty, collective and individual, that may intervene in the breaches and discontinuities of these multiple determinisms.

In view of this purpose, it is not surprising that the great strength of this work lies in its contribution to the understanding of the philosophical foundations and implications of social science, while its major weakness lies in its lack of solid contact with empirical data save where they are fitted or forced into the molds of the author's increasingly intricate systems of classification.

To his depth-sociology (sociologie en profondeur) with all its levels or layers (paliers), to the taxonomy of groups and the overlapping and intersecting 162 types of sociability—all set out with clarity and some cogency in previous writings-are now added inter alia a plenitude of further classifications. Some of these appertain directly to the multiplicity of forms of determinism and liberty, what these are and what they are not, and to procedures of determination, degrees of liberty, sub-types of each, and the like. But in addition, we have a highly suggestive classification of "temporalities," further elaboration of microsociological and macrosociological taxonomies, and a systematic classification of "global structures"-both "archaic" and "civilized or historic." The "global" classifications follows lines suggested by Durkheim but substantially altered by Gurvitch to fill a void critics had noted in his previous efforts to serve as a sort of sociological Linnaeus.

The critical and analytic powers of the author are most evident in the First Part of the work where he dissects other views of determinism and liberty and submits his own definitions of these terms. He is most cogent when he details what is wrong with the other definitions. Determinism is not fatalism, as held or implied by many ancients and more recently by Hegel, Spengler, Toynbee, and Burnham. It is not "metaphysical necessity" as with Leibniz, nor Kant's "transcendental necessity," nor Meyerson's logical necessity (reducing the causal tie to logical identity), nor the conjectural mathematical necessity of mathematicians and statisticians (Stouffer, Lazarsfeld, Von Neumann and Morgensterne).

Liberty, likewise, is not to be pigeonholed in any of a similar series of tight categories. It is not pure contingence or creation ex nihilo; it is not "negative liberty," or the "liberty of indifference," or any other monist form as held by various historic philosophers. Nor is it the "rationally motivated will, victorious over contingency" that forms the essence of all the rationalist conceptions from Aristotle to Spinoza, from Leibniz to Kant, and closer to us, from Comte to Durkheim and Hobhouse in sociology. Nor can liberty be reduced exclusively to the "liberty of execution" (physical liberty, social liberty, or civil and political liberty), to "psychological liberty" or any other "potentiality of liberty," to moral liberty or any of its derivative forms of "creative liberty" (as in the theories of Fichte, Bergson, and Maurice Blondell), nor to the liberty of the individual will, nor to that of the collective will (as in Durkheim or Charles

Blondell, or any others who place it in the human cradle, along with Reason, as one of the "two splendid presents" of the collectivity).

So far, so good. But what are Gurvitch's definitions? Liberating ourselves from "all confusion" by p. 29, we recognize that the only presumption implied by determinism is that one can attribute a "certain coherence," with very relative and variable degrees, to ensembles or real "cadres" or more broadly to real and concrete wholes or universes (univers reels et concrets). By page 40, the moment arrives for a full-dress definition. This definition is too lengthy to quote in full, but Gurvitch's own contentanalysis of it stresses its logical and even "logical-meaningful" terminology, involving "integration," "comprehension," and "explication" above all else. This may be all to the good, but it should be submitted to the same test of critical objections as are the causal and deterministic conceptions of others, such as Rickert, Weber, Sorokin, and MacIver (pp. 57 ff. and passim). To say that Gurvitch is unaware of these objections to his own view would be unfair, but to say that he accounts for them fully would be untrue.

The definition of liberty (p. 82) may be more acceptable, at least for heuristic purposes in following the further analysis. Indeed it does not vary too much from widely accepted formulations in the past and present. It stresses the spontaneous and voluntary character of an act, and "l'interpenetration de moteur, du motif et de la contingence." The treatment of the enmeshment of liberty and determinism is studded with brilliant insight, and must be rated as top-drawer quality in philosophical analysis. The classification of degrees, forms or "stages" of liberty is highly suggestive, though not entirely convincing (pp. 84 ff.). The sub-classifications of "partial determinisms" in Part II are likewise suggestive but tend to drive the excellent thesis regarding the multiplicity of forms of determinism pretty deep into the ground, while using empirical tools only sparingly in the process.

Lest this summation be thought unduly critical, let it be stressed that Gurvitch's analysis is at all times among the most scholarly and thoroughly literate in contemporary social science. He marshalls a vast multilingual acquaintance with the writings of philosophers, physical and social scientists, and others, citing ancients and moderns, Continental physicists and American social-psychologists, with equal competence and often brilliant analytic finesse. He evinces an erudite and penetrating understanding of the plurality of times, spaces, determinisms, causes and contingencies, and the

relativity and "reciprocity" of perspectives of scientific observers, and the implications of these and other developments in the "philosophy of science" for scientific method in sociology. In this, his analysis transcends the tangled web of antiquated philosophical assumptions of most contemparary social scientists. But all this insight and finesse seem beggarred in his own treatment of empirical data. His own "phenomenological" method and "hyperempirisme dialectique" seem strangely disappointing in the treatment of empirical phenomena, when in (roughly) the last one-fourth of the book he comes to grips with such data as illustrations or implementations of the theoretical framework (Part III. "Global Sociological Determinisms and Human Liberty.")

Those who read this work without a prior acquaintance with Gurvitch's writings may be confused at times by his elaborate legerdemain of classification, but there will be a rich reward if the penetrating questions and discussions lead the reader to become better acquainted with the total contribution of this immensely talented and learned author.

JOSEPH B. FORD

Los Angeles State College

The Tyranny of Progress: Reflections on the Origins of Sociology. By Albert Salomon. New York: The Noonday Press, 1955. 115 pp. \$3.00.

This little volume is a study of the fanatic visionary, of the dedicated intellectual, and its excellence places it on the same shelf with the pertinent writings of such men as Buber, Heiden, Koestler, and Eric Hoffer. Although its formal scope is largely limited to Saint Simon and Comte, with briefer comments on Marx and Hegel, the book's insights go far beyond these few figures and into the motivations of true believers everywhere. Like Eric Hoffer's classic, this volume is concerned with the intellectual who seeks transformation of society as the means of assuaging disquiet in his own soul.

The type of intellectual whom Dr. Salomon appropriately gives the name "Messianic Bohemian" was brought into existence by the French Revolution at the end of the 18th century. It was this massive event that served to convert rationalist lamps into the blinding searchlights by which the social action of the 19th century was lighted. To many a mind the Revolution was a tantalizing foretaste of millenium, and even those who, like Comte, were to detest it and its consequences, nevertheless drew from it ecstatic visions of what might be accomplished by force and manipulation in the service of reason.

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as Le and W argual system overw structi domin Prior to the Revolution, as Dr. Salomon correctly observes, all movements in behalf of the underprivileged were directed toward the reestablishment of ancient rights. The Revolutionaries, following hard upon the heels of the *Philosophes* changed this. Henceforth it would be for the future, for Progress, that men would write manifestoes, plot, and fight. For centuries only a precarious generalization, the idea of Progress became suddenly social dogma, perhaps the master dogma of the nineteenth century.

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The Revolution made brilliantly clear a truth that Cardinal Newman was to give words to a century later—that men will die for a dogma who will not even stir for a conclusion. It made equally clear that men who would ordinarily shrink from violence could be got to kill, torture, and commit unimaginable atrocities in the service of social ideals. The alliance during the Revolution of faith and force, the former giving absolution, as it were, for the second, is the true source of the currents of secular fanaticism which have culminated in the totalitarian movements of the twentieth century.

Two principal forces drive the Messianic intellectual: first, the vision of history moving inexorably toward a predestined end; second, a compulsive passion for redemptive unity. From the former comes the secular eschatology that lights up the pages of Saint Simon, Comte, Proudhon, Marx, and other modern social fanatics. From the second comes the hatred of all variety, the unremitting suspicion of differentiation, and the view of mankind as composed principally of the alienated, the underprivileged and the exploited. Such men as Comte and Marx dogmatized these visions in the nineteenth century. Lenin, Mussolini, and Hitler gave them fulfillment in the twentieth.

All of this Dr. Salomon makes superbly clear, and his basic thesis seems to me unexceptionable. I cannot however go along with some of the overtones of his theme. Thus to infer an "affinity toward totalitarianism" in sociology from the fact that Saint Simon and Comte were themselves of totalitarian stuff seems to me an unwarranted use of the genetic method. As well derive an affinity toward totalitarianism in modern political science from the totalitarian mentalities of Rousseau and (the later) Bentham!

Actually, leaving its fanatic founders out and concentrating instead upon such seminal minds as Le Play, Durkheim, Weber, Simmel, Cooley, and W. I. Thomas, the conclusion seems to me arguable that sociology, in any precise and systematic sense of the term has been, by its overwhelming emphasis upon autonomous social structures and processes, coupled with a predominantly non-political orientation, at the op-

posite pole from the totalitarian perspective. Further, although Dr. Salomon has obviously read and reflected upon the Conservatives (and does not, indeed, mis-state an essential part of their doctrine) I would remind him that from their ideas and insights come also, in large part, Burckhardt and Tocqueville, two men for whom the author and this reviewer share a vast admiration.

But such points are minor and in no way diminish the substance and lustre of a valuable book. The Tyranny of Progress is a book small in size but large in meaning and insight.

R. A. NISBET

University of California, Riverside

The Design of Human Behavior. By Louis O. Kattsoff. Saint Louis: Educational Publishers, Inc., 1953. x, 402 pp. \$3.00.

The argument over the proper place of values and valuing in the social sciences goes on as sharply as ever. This book is in the center of that argument, for though the title does not state it, Professor Kattsoff, as a philosopher viewing the social sciences, attempts to "indicate the central position of the concept of 'value' in any science of human behavior."

I am afraid I must disagree with Hadley Cantril's suggestion, in a brief preface, that the present volume will materially help us to reach "more intrinsically reasonable accounts" of human nature.

I doubt it because it seems to me that the key propositions of the book are neither clarified nor defended with the necessary rigor. These propositions, in substance, are:

1. One of the fundamental mistakes of the behavioral sciences is "the failure to recognize that all behavior is essentially purposive" (p. ix).

all behavior is essentially purposive" (p. ix).

2. A scientific theory of values is possible—that is, from the welter of current relativism, it is possible to discover an adequate objective standard for the word "ought"; and it is against this standard that social scientists, as the "physicians of the social system," must evaluate social events and propose remedies.

evaluate social events and propose remedies.

3. The criterion recommended for this evaluation is the ultimate standard of health: Behavior "is correct when its goal is the health of the individual" (p. 356).

4. The basic concepts of social psychology (e.g. drives, motives, attitudes, emotions) and the basic social institutions (e.g. family, government) are inescapably bound up with values, and are properly assessed as good or bad in light of the health criterion.

These are, of course, simply the gross products in the work, and not much can be done in a brief review to present the author's case adequately or to argue its limitations. The last of the four propositions takes up the bulk of the book, some sixteen chapters being devoted to a review of concepts and institutions from the standpoint of their value implications. The analysis here doesn't advance conceptual clarity beyond the current norm in social psychology; and the institutional review (with health as the criterion for evaluation) reads very much like a

brief social problems text.

The proposition dealing with purpose in behavior (see #1 above) seems rather odd, if not downright misleading. The indictment of "the social scientists" for denying purpose in behavior is far too sweeping. Certainly men like Tolman, Lewin, and Allport, along with many others from the sociological side, have argued strongly for the directional character of behavior. The author does not ignore these men (in fact, cites them often); and one might think that the apparent unwillingness to see them as part of a solid current in modern behavior analysis is due to a substantial difference in the way he wishes to define "value." But this is not the case: value is here defined "behavioristically as that toward which behavior is directed" (p. 68).

The health criterion as an ultimate value (see proposition #3 above) does not fare very well either, largely because—if we can say it in a sentence—its logical status as a candidate for this honor is not made plain. As a philosopher, Professor Kattsoff might well have dedicated himself more to this task than to the broader conceptual and institutional review; and thereby, in my view, have provided a sharper challenge regarding the proper role of values in the social

sciences.

MELVIN SEEMAN

The Ohio State University

Freedom to Work. By STANLEY HUGH SMITH. New York: Vantage Press, Inc., 1955. x, 217 pp. \$4.00.

Is law an effective instrument to reduce discrimination in employment? Can discrimination be reduced in the face of substantial prejudice? These are questions on which we have long had vigorous, and differing, opinions. Gradually we are accumulating, through such studies as the one under review, the knowledge and experience necessary to put these opinions to adequate test. The answers that seem to be emerging are not so simple as either the "you can't legislate against prejudice" or the "there ought to be a law" schools declare.

In 1949, the state of Washington passed a fair employment practices law. The purpose of this book "is to evaluate the campaigns for the passage of this law." Thus it is as much a study in political sociology as it is an exploration in the sociology of discrimination. As a matter of fact, however, not more than a third of this brief volume is given over to an analysis of the three campaigns. The study opens with a statement of methodology, a few definitions, and a brief survey of some of the literature relevant to the question of fair employment practices legislation. There follows a brief outline of federal experience, and a helpful summary of state and local legislation.

The description of the three campaigns, in 1945, 1947, and 1949, to pass the fair employment law in Washington records the legislative process in detail and lists many of the opponents and exponents. The first two campaigns failed, according to Smith, because of the radical label attached to them, the predominance of minority-group members among the backers (much less true of the second campaign), the lack of enthusiasm of the legislative sponsors, and the lack of objective proof of the existence of discrimination. By 1949 these obstacles had been reduced, and the political competition of a divided legislature also facilitated passage.

The final section of the book describes the administration and operation of the Washington law. Unfortunately, no data past 1952 are included, so that the experience of only a little more than three years is studied. In that time, the Washington State Board Against Discrimination in Employment had handled 167 complaints, over 60 per cent of them against private employers, and the rest distributed among government agencies, employment agencies, and labor unions. Smith discusses the ways in which the cases were disposed, illustrates the processes of negotiation, and describes some of the educational work of the Board. He also points out the continuing violations of the law by employers, employment agencies, and unions (which may admit a minority-group member, but block advancement). The influence of the law is greatly reduced by the \$15,000 (approximate) annual budget with which the Board has been required

Unfortunately, this useful volume is marred by several weaknesses and occasionally by careless writing. In the political analysis, one gets a description of some of the day by day developments, but no real sense of the political dynamics which led to a reversal of early decisions against an FEP law. In one table, Myrdal's "rank order of discrimination," as used in a study by Banks, is reversed. At another point, the proportion of complaints to the Washington Board that was dismissed for lack of evidence is indicated, for three periods, to be: 33.3%, 25.5%, and 29.8%. The author writes, "The

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The double topic of this book (How are laws against discrimination blocked or passed, and what are their consequences?) is highly significant. The reader can find useful information here, although he will have to read with care.

J. MILTON YINGER

Oberlin College

Black Moses: the Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association. By Edmund David Cronon. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1955. xvii, 278 pp. \$5.00.

More than three decades have passed since Marcus Garvey reached the zenith of his career as spokesman and organizer of extreme Negro nationalism in this country. During the interim the Negro has been the subject of an exhaustive amount of sociological research—to that point where some of our colleagues feel a compulsion to apologize for making further inquiries or for writing additional books in the field.

But the fact is that few sociologists have given more than cursory attention to Garvey as a race leader and to his "Back-to-Africa" venture as a racial movement. What we now know of both is largely the result of the work of non-sociologists and even of non-social scientists. It is an appropriate commentary on our neglect that the first full-length examination of the subject is the work of an historian. Black Moses was prepared originally as an M.A. thesis at the University of Wisconsin. It was further researched and revised before being brought out in the present book form.

In a number of respects Mr. Cronon's work is commendable although it retains all too many of the history thesis features. It is "well-documented," to use a much over-worked phrase, and it brings together as no previous study has, the widely scattered materials essential to any detailed coverage of the subject. The accounts of the financial difficulties of Garvey's organizations and of his trial for fraud compress a great amount of detail into a brief space without obscuring relevant data or ignoring significant events. The style of writing leaves something to be desired, although there are some sections of good, solid narrative.

But there are serious objections which one must raise. The book could have been much better organized. There is no forthright presentation of Garvey's philosophy and program, the result being that one unfamiliar with his preachings would find it difficult to understand the

ideology to which Garvey's followers were responding. The contemporary importance of Garvey and the indirect consequences of his activity are not developed until the final chapter and then only briefly. It would have underscored the significance of the inquiry and encouraged the reader to continue had this been done at the outset. The book fails to locate Garvey and the Garvey movement in any larger historical context-an omission excusable in a sociologist but hardly in an historian. Specifically, Mr. Cronon does not examine the numerous ante-bellum and post-bellum "Back-to-Africa" schemes of which Garveyism was an heir. Mr. Cronon also fails to examine Garvey as a type of leader by no means uncommon in the American Negro past.

While documents give an apparent and pleasing authenticity to a study of this type, they may also divert it from framing larger questions and searching for new kinds of data. The author has been very reticent to venture very far beyond authenticated items or to develop new material of his own. His interpretations would have been much better grounded, and I believe much more penetrating, had he obtained, for example, a hundred interviews with former Garvey followers aimed at uncovering the social and psychological mainsprings of their response to the man and the movement.

The final objection to the present work is this: although familiar with numerous details, Mr. Cronon appears to be largely insensitive to the socio-psychological dimensions of his subject. The charismatic qualities of Garvey do not come alive, and the internal dynamics of his movement are examined only at surface depth. The result is that our understanding is left pretty much where it was before. The question may rightly be asked: Has he told us much more than did Claude McKay in Harlem: Negro Metropolis, or James Weldon Johnson in Black Manhattan, or Mary White Ovington in Portraits in Color? I suspect that this question has bothered Mr. Cronon too for his final assessment of "Black Moses" is most heavily influenced by the above interpretations, especially that of Johnson.

WILSON RECORD

Sacramento State College

The Strange Career of Jim Crow. By C. VANN WOODWARD. New York: Oxford University Press, 1955. xi, 155 pp. \$2.50.

The Strange Career of Jim Crow is the report of a series of lectures delivered by Woodward as the James W. Richard Lectures of 1954, at the University of Virginia. In the preface to the book the writer states that his major objective is "to turn a few beams of light into a twilight zone and if possible to light up a few of its

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ington idence 33.3%, "The corners." The twilight zone that the author had under consideration was: (1) presenting information concerning the origin and development of Jim Crow laws, and (2) analyzing the reasons and processes involved in the development of such laws.

In the book Jim Crowism is described as a social movement with a slow and doubtful origin. Involved in the social movement were many pressure and propaganda organizations, many Negroes and whites, labor and professional organizations, some churches, several state legislatures, political parties, and the Supreme Court of the United States. According to the author, the major objective that prompted the movement was the attempt to unify the whites, both in the South and between the North and the South.

In this volume a clear description is given of the ways by which the social processes operate in bringing about social change. The processes of cooperation operated to bring about unity among southern whites, and between whites in the North and the South. At the same time the processes of opposition were active in bringing about alienation between Negroes and whites, especially in the South. It is distinctly illustrated that for the Negro the processes of opposition prevailed, resulting in the initiation of Jim Crow legislation, which served to lower the status of the Negro to that of inferiors.

That Jim Crowism was not the result of a systematic plan is clearly indicated in the book. In fact, it is shown that many leaders in the South fought against the movement in the beginning, and continued to express opinions against the movement as it progressed. Those against Jim Crowism considered it as unnatural, undemocratic, unchristian, and contrary to the principles of Americanism. To those who might think that folkways and mores cannot be changed by laws, the book illustrates that this is possible by pointing out how Jim Crow laws changed the thinking of many people in the United States from that of equality to that of inequality of the races.

After Jim Crowism had been established many leaders, North and South, Negro, and white, started to question the ethical and democratic validity of the segregation and discrimination that had resulted from the movement. This resulted in the initiation and organization of counter movements to combat segregation and discrimination. The recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States indicate that progress has been made. Yet, the task of removing Jim Crowism is far from being completed.

The reviewer thinks that the author accomplished, in a condensed fashion, his purposes as stated in the preface. However, there are several criticisms that can be advanced if the book is to be considered as a scientific treatise. Among these are: (1) the author's personal philosophy is injected on many points; (2) the author fails to cite sources for many incidents that the average student of the problem might desire to check on; and, (3) the author failed to give the labor movement the credit that it is due in aiding in the desegregation process.

The book gives an excellent description of the development of the social movement called "Jim Crowism." For this reason it should be of interest to all persons interested in the problem of desegregation. It gives a description of the processes that worked in bringing about segregation. Knowledge of these processes should be of value and use to those who are involved in the present movement of desegregation.

EUGENE S. RICHARDS
Texas Southern University

Spanish-Name People in the Southwest and West: Socio-economic Characteristics of White Persons of Spanish Surname in Texas, Arizona, California, Colorado, and New Mexico. By Robert H. Talbert. Fort Worth: Texas Christian University, Leo Potishman Foundation, 1955. vi, 90 pp. \$2.00.

This volume is the fifth in the series published by the Leo Potishman Foundation at Texas Christian University, and was prepared for and financed by The Texas Good Neighbor Foundation. The socio-economic status of the Spanish-name population in our southwestern states of Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, and California is presented statistically in 65 easily understood tables and charts, along with other shorter computations and accompanying explanatory material. This presentation is particularly important, sociologically speaking, in view of the continuing increase of this ethnic group as a percentage of our national population. Its general conditions have been described before by authorities in this area of minority group relations, but here are the cold figures. In this instance we cannot say with Disraeli that there are "lies, damned lies, and statistics."

Although the book is primarily aimed at laymen with a limited social science background, it is of value to both the specialist and student of minority group relations. In the first place, it brings together the 1950 Census data on population and housing regarding this minority. Secondly, it compares its status with that of the total white population (of which, of course, this group is itself a part) and with that of the non-white, predominantly Negro, group. For example, Talbert brings out such interesting

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points as the considerably younger median age of the Spanish-name population compared to the total population, ranging from 4.8 years younger in New Mexico to 11.3 years younger in Colorado (p. 36); the differences in median school years completed for persons 25 years of age and over, from 3.6 years to 9.7 years in Texas for Spanish-surname and total white population males respectively (p. 45); the fact that 58.5 per cent of the Spanish-surname group 14 years of age and over in California had incomes under \$2,000, as compared with 60.5 per cent for Negroes, and 45.3 per cent for the total white population (p. 62); the great differences in occupational patterns in Texas between the Spanish, non-white, and total white populations, with these groups having percentages of 10.7, 13.6, and 29.4 respectively in "high" status positions (p. 71); and the degrees of housing dilapidation for these three groups as seen, for instance, in Arizona where 32.4, 38.4, and 8.6 were the respective percentages of dwelling units

This study, however, is not just a statistical compilation in the manner of a year book. It has a brief introduction discussing such topics as the problems involved in defining the group under consideration and the significance of minority status. The other chapters discuss such aspects of the universe as its geographical distribution by states and place of residence (urban, rural nonfarm, and rural-farm), nativity, and age distribution; marital status; education; economic status; and housing.

classed as "dilapidated" (p. 79).

A few other comments are in order. First, to save space, reference numbers are assigned to each Census report, with the list of sources and reference numbers at the back of the book. This is an inconvenient shortcut which seems unwarranted. Secondly, frequent reference is made to Texas counties, but they are not usually identified or located on the maps or in the written material. Thirdly, where statistical material is given by states, it too often is not summarized or totaled for the five states as a whole. And finally, while valid analysis of material is occasionally made, as when Talbert discusses the importance of concentration of minorities with respect to the probability of voluntary or forced segregation and discrimination, I wish the author had interpreted more frequently and in greater detail. This is particularly true in view of the audience at which he has aimed. The same might be said for the lack of historical background material, where one is either assumed to have such knowledge or is directed to other sources.

In spite of the foregoing, to have presented such a wealth of material in the short space of less than 90 pages is itself an accomplishment. Talbert has performed a useful function in giving us another valuable source and reference book in the area of minority group relations.

FRANK F. LEE

University of California, Riverside

Approaching Equality of Opportunity in Higher Education. American Council on Education Studies. Series I. Reports of Committees and Conferences. Number 59. Volume XIX. Edited by Francis J. Brown. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1955. ix, 132 pp. \$1.50.

This slim volume is a report of a national conference held in St. Louis in November, 1954, under the sponsorship of the Committee on Equality of Opportunity in Higher Education of the American Council on Education. The purpose of the conference was "to evaluate whatever progress has been achieved since 1949" (the date of the preceding national conference) and "to determine steps which might be taken toward further solutions of the multiple problems still facing colleges and universities" in achieving equality of opportunity (p. 12). Eight main papers were presented, ranging in subjectmatter from "College as a Way of Life" to "The Role of the Supreme Court in Equalizing Opportunity in Education," and are included in this volume along with introductory remarks and summaries of audience discussion.

For the sociologist the report is only of minor importance. It covers familiar ground on ethnic and economic inequalities, with numerous references, for example, to the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, the recent Ashmore study The Negro and the Schools, and Byron Hollingshead's Who Should Go to College. As a stock-taking enterprise, it is not to be expected that the conference would devote itself to reporting hitherto unpublished research findings. Thus the report should be assessed not for its contribution to social research but for its relevance for educational policy. In this regard three comments may be made. First, as in most "one-goal" conferences, there is a notable tendency toward exaggeration and distortion, as many goals other than the one in view are ignored. For example, how can we tear down financial barriers to equality of opportunity in higher education? Scholarship programs alone are seen as insufficient. The ultimate answer lies in decentralizing undergraduate education, in order "to bring education that is low in cost near the homes of youth" (p. 17). This may be. But if the proposal is to be responsibly evaluated, numerous effects must be weighed by the college administrator. What educational disadvantages are incurred when students are left in their home towns instead of being removed to a semi-autonomous college culture? Does

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this encourage a tendency to train the student merely as a technician? Recommendations of this kind are hardly realistic guides for policy unless diverse consequences for various cultural and social systems are taken into account.

A second comment pertains to a tendency to confuse magnitude of opportunity with equality of opportunity. When approaching ethnic discrimination, the conference participants clearly had "selection by merit" in mind as the heart of the matter. But when the papers veer away from ethnicity to problems of student incentives and size of facilities, then the focus on equality of opportunity becomes blurred. Merit selection is mixed with the problem of expanding the number of opportunities. We learn: "The acid test of efforts to eradicate inequality of opportunity in higher education is how much improvement is brought about in the local community. The main criterion of all activities to increase opportunity is 'Do more people have it?" (p. 118). The latter criterion, of course, is a long step away from the mission of achieving equality of treatment for students, regardless of race, color, creed, or income.

Lastly, it seems to have been a sentiment of the conference that ethnic factors are now wellunderstood, and that henceforth more attention should be devoted to "economic disability" and "lack of personal motivation" as causes of differential participation in education. A concern for the under-motivated student is reflected in the first and most specific recommendation of the conference: "That basic studies be undertaken by the American Council on Education of the nature of motivation for higher education on the part of high school and college age youth; of ways to improve the motivation of the youth of potential college abilities; and of ways to modify the attitudes of youth toward college attendance" (p. 3). Thus while earlier conferences focused on discrimination, the 1954 conference indicates that new meanings are to be read into equality-of-opportunity, meanings that link it to the larger topic of full utilization of manpower and talent.

BURTON R. CLARK

Stanford University

Immigration and the Foreign Born. (Occasional Paper 46). By SIMON KUZNETS and ERNEST RUBIN. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc. 1954. xii, 107 pp. \$1.50.

This study reexamines the all-too-meagre data concerning international migration between the United States and the rest of the world, with particular emphasis upon the 1870–1940 period. The object is two-fold: to refine earlier estimates and to relate fluctuations in migration (especially long swings) to economic events in

this country. By combining procedures outlined by Richard Mayo-Smith in 1890 with more recent techniques of estimating migration by use of survival ratios, the authors derive estimates of net migration from passenger and immigration statistics. After adjustments for known deficiencies these estimates compare favorably with the decennial census counts of foreign born population. The total of the estimated net immigration between 1870 and 1930 is almost identical with that published by Wilcox in 1940. A discrepancy of 979,000 between he Kuznets-Rubin estimates and those of Wilcox for the decades 1870-1890 seems to rest entirely upon a difference of judgment concerning the rate of return migration, This reviewer cannot see that the estimates of the present study are a great deal more secure on this particular point than the Wilcox estimates. The assumption that lists of passengers leaving the country, voluntarily submitted by steamship companies for only about one-half as many departure ports as entry ports are 90 percent complete, and the assumption of a very low rate of return flow through Canada, in relation to the return flow direct to Europe, seem to be almost as arbitrarily inflatio. .ry of estimated net immigration as the Wilcox estimates may have been deflationary.

The authors are to be congratulated for their care and patience in carying out what must have been exasperatingly tedious calculations that posed complications and adjustments at every step. Their work places a much firmer base under the estimates of net migration, for it incorporates about every methodological refinement that can be made short of re-searching and reexamining the basic historical documents in an effort to improve the basic data themselves. Any suggestions one might make concerning the details of the procedure would be of the "cutting butter with a razor" variety.

Although the principal purpose of the present volume seems to have been the publication of the estimates and a description of the estimating procedures, there are sections linking the migration facts to the cyclical, secular, and long-swing changes of the economy. It is a fine companion work to Brinley Thomas' equally important study of migration in the Atlantic community, published last year.

One highly worthy topic, not covered by the present study, is the inflow of particular nationality groups, and the pattern of distribution between frontier and growing cities of immigrants. These are topics for research by economic and social historians that have many implications for theories of economic and social development.

DONALD J. BOGUE

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Hamtramck Then and Now: A Sociological Study of a Polish-American Community. By ARTHUR EVANS WOOD. New York: Bookman Associates, 1955. 253 pp. \$4.00.

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This readable, lively account of one of our most recent immigrant groups is obviously backed by thorough knowledge and told with the trappings of scholarship kept in the background.

Hamtramck is a tiny (2.2 square mile) independent municipality within the Detroit Metropolitan Area. Polish immigrants and their children and grandchildren comprise most of the population of some 45,000 persons. So complete is the identification that Hamtramck is "a sort of island of Polish culture."

Wood supplies new information and insightthe first such major contribution since the monumental Thomas and Znaniecki monographabout the tragic inter-generation clash within the urban American Polish family. The passage of three decades has enabled Wood to go a step farther and point to the probable conclusion of that drama.

His main interest and contribution, however, deals with a commonly-neglected area in "ethnicgroup" literature-politics. More than half the book is concerned with the naivety, bewilderment, almost innocent venality and corruption of people suddenly catapulted into a democratic society they were equipped at first neither to understand nor to handle. For twenty years, every mayor of Hamtramck was either indicted or imprisoned. One, in a grand baronial, albeit completely illegal, gesture, handed the mantle of office to one of his cronies on the City Council as he, the mayor, was carted off to jail. And when he returned, he was given a triumphal

Hamtramck's sorry political history, however, is not to be glibly explained away with "culture lag" or "the clash of cultures." Assists were forthcoming from two "American" sources. The national and state Democratic machines turned deaf ears to the reform element in Hamtramck since the unregenerate element in Hamtramck delivered a solid Democratic vote in state and national elections. Also, the Detroit newspapers gave Hamtramck such a consistently bad press that most local residents were led to reject any criticism of their politicians and thus of themselves. Professor Wood has written a valuable social psychology of politics.

The line to the future is accurately drawn. American Poles are shortly to become an integral, and virtually indistinguishable, part of American life. And they will turn the trick in less time than did or will any other part of the "new immigration."

ARNOLD W. GREEN Pennsylvania State University

Two Studies in Soviet Controls: Communism and the Russian Peasant. By HERBERT S. DINERSTEIN; Moscow in Crisis. By LEON Gouré and Herbert S. Dinerstein. (A Rand Corporation Research Project). Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955. xviii, 254 pp. \$4.50.

The work by Herbert Dinerstein on Communism and the Russian Peasant is first and foremost, of course, of interest to students of Soviet affairs. Its virtues are such, however, that it should not be neglected by any social scientist who has a few spare moments. In focusing upon Soviet agriculture and particularly upon the people who are directly involved with it, the work is timely. It also grapples objectively, and usually with gratifying clarity, with a whole series of problems—the basic problems that arise whenever a state seeks to impose its will upon a population.

Dr. Dinerstein's main thesis is that impossible demands have been made upon the Soviet agricultural population and that the crisis in Soviet agriculture will not end until the leadership revises its plans drastically in accordance with "realities." In other words, the Soviet Union will not solve the problem of low agricultural productivity as long as it continues to move along the path of collectivization, detailed centralized planning, virtually confiscatory taxation, and controls within controls. This thesis is not new-it has been a favorite one with certain circles for decades. The general facts which illustrate the nature of the state's demands, the reaction to them, and the resulting crisis, are also known from other sources. Dr. Dinerstein, however, has done a superb job of organizing his materials. Concentrating upon the people in the collective farms, he presents a detailed analysis not only of the measures taken by the state but also of the informal arrangements for mutual survival arrived at by Soviet officials and peasants alike. This concentration enables him to present a vivid picture of the ramifications of the planned economy, the overlapping armies of officicals charged with specific duties but general responsibility, and -not least-the peasant and his attitudes. The well known Soviet juggling of statistics and commodities, the techniques of the "expediter," and the functions of scapegoats-all are placed in perspective. Specific cases are used to illustrate the generalizations made.

It is possible to object that Dr. Dinerstein's statements are often based on pitifully small samples-sometimes no more than one or two informants seem to have had knowledge on certain points. It may be said too that reading the press of any country is a poor way to obtain a reliable picture and that Dr Dinerstein

leans very heavily upon items culled from the Soviet Union's admittedly unobjective press. Finally, such statistics as the author can provide are also mostly fragmentary and, since they do not usually correlate with anything, of dubious significance. It is of no use to weep about these weaknesses, however. They are inevitable when one has to deal with a country like the Soviet Union. Dr. Dinerstein quite properly makes his speculative leaps with caution rather than abandon. This reviewer noted only two places where the assumptions made did not seem wholly justified. Dr. Dinerstein is not completely convincing when he writes about the nature of the "guilt feelings" which play a role in the relations between the Russian people and their state. He seems also to venture too far when he assumes, as he appears to, that it is a basic ideological and psychological fixation which keeps the "Bolshevik" leadership from correcting its agricultural policy effectively. Quite apart from ideology they may be stuck with it for purely material reasons.

The shorter work, Moscow in Crisis, written jointly by Leon Gouré and Herbert Dinerstein, cannot be considered very significant either for students of the Soviet Union or for social scientists. It is an able piece of reporting and is quite capable of capturing the attention of the reader. In reporting upon the events in Moscow in the autumn of 1941 as the German armies drew near, the authors are aided by the natural drama of the situation. They make something of the falseness of Soviet war communiques, of the general disillusion among the civilians who at one point are reported as rather looking forward to German occupation, and of the confusion in government and among officials. The authors then conclude that the Soviet leadership played the situation very well. This, however, is a conclusion based mainly upon some rather free conjecture. And that, it must be said, is characteristic of most of the judgments. The main weight of the work falls upon the question of the attitudes of the people in Moscow. Attitudes, and motives are tricky to deal with under the most favorable circumstances. The authors try to deduce the attitudes and motives of the millions in Moscow from the testimony of a mere handful of probably atypical informants who were interviewed a decade after the events. They are aided in their reconstruction of the situation by a scattering of printed materials-but their task is nevertheless a very difficult one. The authors do not attempt to draw broader implications from the story. They undoubtedly realize the peril of generalizing from the unique.

HEINZ ELLERSIECK

California Institute of Technology

The Study of International Relations. By QUINCY WRIGHT. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1955. xii, 642 pp. \$6.75.

In spite of the sociologist's neglect of the sociological aspects of international relations (401), and although sociology is only on the threshold of providing methods and conclusions directly relevant to international relations," "sociology and social psychology may become the basic disciplines in the study of international relations" (408).

This estimate appears to be a function of Quincy Wright's ideas as to international relations: particularly, his ideas of them as substantive operations and his shirtsleeve psychological notions of these, his view of the ideal nature and tasks of international relations as an academic discipline (the heart of this Study), and his opinion of the present status of this discipline. There in turn, of course, derive from his academic opportunities as well as his predilections and industry.

While regarding the term international relations as "too narrow" (7), he accepts it as designating "the relations between groups of major importance in the life of the world at any period of history, and particularly relations among territorially organized nation states . . ." (8). Realistically, "international relations is . . . in large measure relations between fantastic beliefs about nations not between actual nations, and is regulated by fantastic beliefs about the effect of acts and procedures not by real effects" (429).

Conceivably, at this point, Quincy Wright might have paused to support this characterization with a casebook of concrete studies in international relations analysed from this angle. (If he had, he might have influenced these relations more in a few years than he may by this Study (if we and such study survive) in at least a generation). Instead of making any such contribution to a multiple-concrete, inductive approach to the realistic analysis of international relations, he takes the confident, long-term, abstract, prolegomenary approach. The study of international relations is only an "emerging" synthetic discipline; his choice is to help bring logic, coherence, and unity into it (ix, 26, 28, 481, 483, Pt. V).

After discussing the meaning of international relations (Pt. I) and the objectives of studying them (Pt. II), therefore, he presents definitions, assumptions, analyses, and criticisms of 16 of the disciplines which are part of, or contribute to, international relations, viewing each from the standpoints of history, philosophy, science, and art (Pts. III, IV). Since "international relations may be influenced by anything that

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This orients princip that co

concerns man," this philosophical, multiple-discipline approach means that "the effort to unify the study of international relations resembles the effort to unify all knowledge!" (481).

For perspective on this arch-synthetic role, one should recall its impressive background. (vii, viii) First, Wright's 1500 page Study of War (1942) based on 15 years' previous cooperation by faculty members and graduate students at the University of Chicago and their 66 special research projects endorsed by the University of Chicago Social Science Committee. Many of that Study's groups of concepts are taken over in the present Study. Second, Columbia University's conferences on Science, Philosophy, and Religion. Third, conferences held in the United States (e.g., cf. Grayson Kirk, The Study of International Relations in American Colleges and Universities, 1947) and Europe (under L. of N. and UNESCO) since 1930 by teachers of international law and cognate subjects, dealing with the study of international relations. Fourth, an advanced integrative course in international relations at the University of Chicago for students who, under an interdepartmental committee on the subject, had first taken a core course and then specialized in some subfield. That advanced course Quincy Wright has given since 1947, and this Study "includes its subject matter."

In general, students of international relations will wish the chapter bibliographies differentiated strictly international-relations references (incidentally, L. L. Bernard's Sociology and the Study of International Relations is missing) and included more journal articles among them. Many "foreign area" specialists will insist that the "location" of states "in the analytical field" and on the capability and value axes, be supplemented at least by vivid, extensive, firsthand Verstehend accounts. Students of the single disciplines treated, will both commend and criticize. Certainly sociologists with either an interdisciplinary or world view will want to examine this encyclopedic work in toto as well as its chapters on the sociology and psychology of international relations.

MAURICE T. PRICE

Maxwell Air Force Base, Ala.

Approaches to Economic Development, by Norman S. Buchanan and Howard S. Ellis. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1955. xiv, 494 pp. \$5.00.

This book discusses the results of a policyoriented study undertaken to answer three principal questions: Are there common factors that can be identified as essential to the process of economic growth, wherever it takes place? To what extent can the economic development of underdeveloped regions be accelerated by "importing" techniques and capital from the developed countries? What are some of the implications of our present knowledge of this subject for American and world policy with

regard to economic development?

Materials of the study dealing with these key questions in their complex present-day setting are set in three parts. Part One presents an analytic view of the problem of underdevelopment. Part Two reviews economic development as recorded history, and explores the factors which have facilitated or delayed progress in the presently industrialized countries. Part Three is a programmatic discussion of alternatives of action in economic development viewed from the perspective of the interests and responsibilities of the United States. The general view of economic development presented here stresses four impelling forces; entrepreneurship, technical innovation, capital accumulation, and the opening up of markets within national boundaries and outside them. The chief barriers to selfgenerating economic development appears to be a cultural environment that is hostile to change, that lacks entrepreneurs, that does not generate innovations from within or borrow them from without, and that is characterized by too little specialization for high productivity. An effective remedy for these difficulties is to increase the flow of domestic trade, thus forcing new value relations, new types of resource use, greater specialization and efficiency in production, and commercialization. To this end, a country needs to link its economic life to the world market, and at the same time, to improve its internal transport and communications. This is the most effective remedy, because "economic development usually has its beginnings in the first articulation of the country in the world trading system." For its part, the United States must embark upon a bold free-trade policy as a spur to a world-wide system of free trade if it is to make its most effective contribution to the economic progress of underdeveloped areas.

Unfortunately, the suggested policies are to be carried out in areas of the world which have been within the orbit of one or another of metropolitan economies over long periods of time, and some of the obstacles to economic development are consequences of this long term articulation with the world trading system. This aspect of the historical record deserved a place in the analysis. The authors of the study, having defined their task in relation to the struggle between the Soviet block and the Western system of alliances, take no further account of it in their calculations, with the result that the strategic and security implications of economic

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policy are inadequately dealt with. Since there is here, perhaps, a broad assumption of essential harmony between the national interest and the interests of the world at large, the "domination effect" of the further spread of industrial society remains unexamined.

ESHREF SHEVKY

University of California, Los Angeles

The Year Book of Education 1954: Education and Technological Development. Edited by ROBERT KING HALL, N. HANS and J. A. LAUWERYS. Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Company, xiv, 630 pp. \$8.00.

This is one of several new surveys which explore the educational and technological contributions of the Western world to the "underdeveloped" areas of the world. The Yearbook of Education 1954 differs in emphasis from com-

parable surveys on several scores.

First, it has been sponsored by two educational institutions in different nations: namely, Teachers College of Columbia University and The University of London Institute of Education. This arrangement, combined with the inclusion of non-Western writers, obviates any tendencies for the book to be culture-bound in orientation or to center exclusively on the international concerns of but one nation. While the coverage of the subject matter is spotty, the book as a whole takes a world view of crosscultural relations.

Second, the more than sixty essays and studies assembled provide a broad review of current enterprises organized by international agencies, various governments, Western business and industrial firms, religious groups, and voluntary associations. Some of the authors have confined themselves to a presentation of the rudimentary facts about programs in being and others have concentrated on the assessment of policies and consequences. Perhaps few will care to read in detail through the more than six hundred pages of rather fine print, and yet many will find the book useful as a reference.

Third, the editors have sought out authors with divergent points of view on many crucial issues and, thereby, have achieved one of their purposes—to illuminate the need for further analyses of the role of education in the direction of social change within the context of various cultures. Despite the brevity of each theoretical article, which of necessity precludes a full-scale appraisal of the themes outlined by the discussants, the relevant questions are clearly manifest. They suggest for the sociologist the need for carefully designed empirical research if we are

to help in the development of a fund of verified knowledge.

The joint editors, Robert King Hall, N. Hans and J. A. Lauwerys, initiate the discussion with a thoughtful presentation of the pertinent questions and problems involved in cross-cultural enterprises. They ask, for example, under what conditions "is Western technology detachable from the Western culture ground" and "is it transferable to anyone who learns the technical tricks?" Without striving for neat formulae or panaceas, they critically examine these and similar self-addressed questions. At different levels of abstraction and in varying organizational environments, these queries are dealth with by a number of authors. The articles are grouped into sections which are entitled: "Aims, Objectives and Implications of Technological Development," "Cultural Change," "Planning and Education," "Techniques and Methods," "The Agencies of Administration," and "The Impact of Western Culture."

I think it would be pretentious for me to try to summarize the entire book. Hence I have selected out those features which appear particu-

larly germane to sociologists.

A number of the authors devote considerable attention to the importance of recognizing the disparity in cultures between the donors and recipients of technical or educational aid. For the readers of this review, the point is a sociological truism. Nevertheless, an old methodological problem emerges in a new social context -the assessment of projects which originate in one society and are carried out in another. As put by Kenneth Little in his article, "From Tribalism to Modern Society," "The facts of 'culture contact' . . . are easy to ascertain and describe, but difficult to analyze. This is because of the absence of common ground between the respective social aims and goals of Western and tribal and non-literate peoples, and because there are few methods of measuring social achievements which are valid for both parties."

Other facets of the same matter are treated cogently by P. C. C. Evans in "Cultural Patterns and Technological Change" and by T. L. Green in "Ceylon: Case-Study of Educational Evaluation and Social Progress." Many other articles express an interest in how to evaluate so that both the strengths or weaknesses may be better known. It is self-evident that in most cases cited, a simple division into "successful" and "unsuccessful" efforts is too crude for scientific work and thus we are forced to devise more sensitive indices. For instance, what incidence of "casualties" can be established as the expected "normal" loss in a new educational scheme among non-literate peoples? Or again,

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what types of social disorganization are inherent in any large-scale endeavor to modernize an economically less-developed society. I think that the social sciences have the means for answering such questions, thereby offering a rough frame-

work for those engaged in those enterprises.

A subject commonly treated about which there is no consensus among the commentators, is the role of the Western expert as an innovator in non-Western societies. Three provocative articles are: P. C. C. Evans, "Cultural Patterns and Technological Change"; Williard W. Beatty, "Education in Technical Development"; and T. R. Batten, "Education for Social Adjustment to Technological Change." These exemplify the interest in the training of experts and in the skills required for the effective performance of their tasks. That this subject is not merely a preoccupation of Westerners is evidenced in the extent to which the topic is discussed in so many societies receiving foreign assistance. As yet there are few empirical studies by social scientists on how that role is played by members of different societies.

Several suggestive articles relate to the pervasive and often critical problem of how to determine the applicability of a pilot project developed in one society for other societies. These are David H. Blelloch's "Export of Technology and the Clash of Cultures," Edmund deS. Brunner's "The Role of Education in the Social and Economic Development of Underdeveloped Areas," and Sir John Sargent's "Educational Aspects of Planning." Along with these, two others are noteworthy. E. R. Leach in "Educational Incentives in the Field of Technical Assistance" sets up a typology with respect to the motives and interests of the members of the intersecting societies. A. L. Tibawi in "Western Technology and the Arab World" uses the history of a series of Middle-Eastern countries to indicate the conditions under which alien introductions can be made in Arabic cultures. I am not certain how far additional sociological work can carry this problem but it does invite some experimentally designed studies.

Finally, it should be noted that a substantial number of articles describe particular activities which may be of some interest to certain readers. There is a sophisticated sketch by C. A. W. Manning entitled "The Motivational Basis of Technical Aid," depicting in a detached manner the interrelationship between Western ideals and social power as they shaped the pattern of present forms of foreign assistance. Others describe such programs as the American University at Beirut, the training of Saudi Arab employees by the Arabian American Oil Company, Roman Catholic missions, and

UNESCO's exchange of persons plan. Space does not permit the listing of all of these case reports.

Perhaps it is inevitable that in the creation of a new field of knowledge we must first learn what are the strategic problems that merit high priority for research. This book helps in such clarification.

JOHN USEEM

Michigan State University

Land-Use in the Ramah Area of New Mexico: An Anthropological Approach to Areal Study. By John L. Landgraf. Cambridge, Mass.: Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Vol. XLII—No. 1, 1954. vii, 97 pp. \$1.65.

Most sociologists have at least a nodding acquaintance with the Ramah Project. Established and maintained in western New Mexico by the Harvard Laboratory of Social Relations as a continuing program of cross-cultural research, the Ramah Project has over the past few years yielded a number of publications, ranging from reports on projective procedures and small group analyses to studies in ethnography and musicology. Common to all the Ramah reports is a concern for bringing into apposition relevant concepts and propositions from a variety of disciplines and coordinating them within a comparative values frame of reference.

The monograph by Landgraf, on Land-Use in the Ramah Area of New Mexico, is representative of this approach. In the author's words, "It is an attempt to fuse social anthropological and geographical formulations into a single approach to the study of a small occupied area" (p. 3). To this end the concepts of "landscape" and "culture," borrowed respectively from geography and anthropology, are employed as fundamental tools of analysis. Specifically, ". . . land-use patterns (are) considered as part of a particular cultural configuration or included within a number of such configurations" (p. 4).

The Ramah area occupies an arid plateau environment which, according to soil experts, is suited only for range use and spotty dry farming. Seventy years of overgrazing and overcultivation have led to widespread deterioration of land capability and vegetation resources. During this time five distinct cultures—Navaho, Spanish-American, Mormon, Anglo, and Texan—have in succession imposed their differing values upon the Ramah landscape, as manifest in their varying forms of land use, land ownership, and land division. Today these five cultures coexist in the area, each retaining much of its autonomy and each, through its distinctive settle-

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the excational r again, ment patterns and economic institutions, generating characteristic modifications of the geographic environment. From the original Navaho concept of free grazing land to the Anglo concept of fenced-in land, from the Mormon nuclear settlement pattern to the Navaho dispersed to Texan dry land farming, a striking diversity of cultural values has figured in the irreversible changes wrought upon the original landscape. As of 1941 ". . . the facts of cultural history and dynamics were at great variance to what the geographer would call rationality in landuse" (p. 25). Meanwhile the Anglo cash crop system with its related concepts of fenced-in, alienable land and its connotation of nature as an exploitable resource, was beginning in 1941 to exert a perceptible effect upon the land use values of the other Ramah area peoples.

The author's analysis of these processes is formulated in terms of categories that derive from a rich inter-disciplinary fund of concepts. Geographical terms like "sequent occupance," "erosion cycle," "anticline," and "avian biota" appear among the descriptive categories, along with such anthropological and sociological terms as "cultural values," "out-group," "rationality," and "land control." This novel apposition of concepts allows a perception and representation of relationships that might be rather opaque to the investigator who would limit himself to the conceptual repertoire of a single discipline. Consider, for instance, the subtle nexus of relationships which is suggested by the following proposition concerning the Ramah Spanish-Americans: "The people had no cultural techniques for control of erosion or vegetation change, and no need for such techniques, since their traditional patterns of land-use had apparently not been greatly destructive to the ecological balance of the landscape" (p. 82).

On the other hand it appears that Landgraf has formulated no generalizations of a very high order of abstraction. His conceptualization amounts more nearly to "categorization" than to "explanation." Perhaps at the present stage of theoretical systematization in the social sciences this is all that can be expected. Certainly the author's purpose of giving ". . . a partial explanation, or at least an indication of the factors which must be included in the conceptual scheme of any investigator, whether his discipline is geography, economics, anthropology, or any other . . ." (p. 89) has been well realized. Land-Use in the Ramah Area of New Mexico represents a major contribution to land use analysis and theory.

WALTER FIREY

University of Texas

Arioi und Mamaia: Eine Ethnologische, Religionssoziologische und Historische Studie über Polynesische Kultbünde. By Wilhelm Emil Mühlmann. Wiesbaden: Franz Stein Verlag GMBH, 1955. X, 268 pp. No price indicated.

This is the latest of a series of studies in Polynesian ethnology by an author who has made this field his specialty. It brings together from all available sources an account of the semi-secret society Ariori (more commonly but less correctly spelled Areoi), whose activities as strolling players and whose combination of sexual license with compulsory infanticide for members made it one of the most striking features of the native culture in the eyes of early European visitors to Tahiti and other islands of the Society group.

With this account is combined a similar analysis of the Mamaia, a later "nativistic" organization, that expressed a reaction against missionary and other European influence, while attempting on its religious side to combine Christian belief with some of the old native doctrines. The Mamaia has almost escaped the notice of later students of Polynesia, partly because they were mainly concerned with pre-European culture, partly because the Mamaia lasted only a few years. Mühlmann, while emphasizing its character as a movement of protest, finds it so similar to the Arioi as to constitite virtually a revival of the earlier organization,—a conclusion possibly overstated but certainly far from groundless.

The method of research had to be strictly historical, as the Arioi was suppressed through missionary influence by 1820 or thereabouts, while the Mamaia, whose prophet first identified himself with Jesus Christ about 1827, disappeared except for indistinct traces about 1833. The author has produced a far clearer and more penetrating account than any earlier one.

Though pre-European, the Arioi society was of no great antiquity. It arose, perhaps as recently as the 16th century, with the cult of its mythological founder, the god Oro, whose worship gradually displaced, in the Society islands, that of the older Polynesian gods. Among the functions of the Arioi brought out by Mühlmann is that through its performances of song, dance and pantomine it became the principal carrier of mythology and of most of the intellectual and esthetic tradition of the islands; that through its inter-island visiting it was an influence for unity and peace, and this although it was in origin partly military; and that it served as a missionary agency for the cult of Oro. To the missionaries, who saw chiefly the sexual customs antagonistic to those of Christianity, the society was a prime target for attack.

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The strict rule of the missionaries, after they got the upper hand, provoked reaction, in some cases armed resistance. In battle the missionary faction was always victorious, but the old ways kept breaking out in unexpected places. It was among professing Christians that the Mamaia began. Ridiculed at first, it rapidly gained influence, and for a time threatened to sweep the archipelago. But still, whenever it came to open conflict, the missionary side was victorious. The fall of the Mamaia was as rapid as its rise. Remnants seem to have sided with the French Catholic mission when its adherents became the leading opponents of the Protestants.

Mühlmann brings out resemblances of both Arioi and Mamaia elsewhere in Oceania: of the Arioi to a less elaborated ka'ioi in the Marquesas, and to the institutionalized hula of Hawaii. He does not press the slighter resemblances to the "men's house" whose distribution is nearly pan-Pacific. With the Mamaia he compares politico-religious uprisings in New Zealand, and even the "cargo cults" prevalent since the last war in New Guinea. The parallels are sound, and suggest the possibility of carrying generalization about such movements farther than the author of this workmanlike study has done.

EDWIN G. BURROWS

University of Connecticut

A Study of Abortion in Primitive Societies. By George Devereux. New York: The Julian Press, Inc., 1955. xii, 394 pp. \$6.50.

The author and his publisher state that this book helps bridge the social and psychological sciences. It is subtitled, "A typological, distributional, and dynamic analysis of the prevention of birth in 400 preindustrial societies." Part One consists of sixty pages devoted to a typology of abortion: motivation, frequency, physical consequences, etc. It is not particularly useful, being built out of scanty materials taken out of context. Part Two consists of ninety four pages devoted to the author's methodology and theoretical formulations. Since this is the heart of the book it is discussed below. Part Three takes up half the pages, listing the ethnic groups studied and summarizing the data on abortion collected for each. The author hopes it will be used by other investigators, yet it may merely convince the researcher that the literature is too meager to bother with. Part Four consists of a few pages tabulating about fifty traits for the tribes on whom data are included in the source materials. It may have future usefulness but here lacks relevancy.

The second part, "Culture and the Unconscious," contains the author's speculations and conclusions on the motivations behind abortion. The aspiration is high. Bu' while time and again

the fanfare is sounded and the drums rolled, nothing happens to fulfill the promise of an important contribution to theory and method. All we get is shaky anthropology and unconvincing psychoanalysis. The author claims he has been able to show that identical inferences can be derived by approaching abortion either through a meticulous analysis in depth of a single society, or a statistical analysis of sets of data pertaining to a large sample of cultures. He resorted to the former because no society has had its conscious or unconscious attitudes towards abortion reported compendiously or analyzed in detail. He seems unaware that the society (Euroamerican) which he has taken as a study in depth has been studied not in terms of abortion but psychoanalysis. It is significant that his heroes are Freud and Durkheim, models of the intense method, who never went into the field to study primitives. He ignores the real giant in analytic studies in depth, Malinowski.

Among the author's conclusions are that abortion of the first child represents "a reluctance to grow up," "a flight from parenthood," and the spacing of births by abortion is motivated by "the parents' regression to early attitudes of sibling rivalry." Also, "the spiteful abortion of a child . . . represents an attempt to castrate the father . . . ," and abortion may even symbolize "initiatory or noninitiatory self-castration." Moreover, "counteroedipal conflicts" are at the root of many abortions. Finally, "whenever pressure is put on the woman to abort, this is indicative of a (possibly unconscious) belief that the child is . . . the child of the woman's own father." Facile platitudes such as this may satisfy some psychoanalysts but will not convince the social scientist that the author has made much of a contribution to a theory of abortion:

In short, psychoanalysis employed second hand cannot replace good field studies. It is not the author's fault that we know very little about abortion in primitive society but he must be held accountable for his eclecticism and magnification of meager items into towering generalizations. He tries to make faith do for facts, especially in his constant reiteration of alleged evidence taken out of context and given great and varied meaning. He often quotes the exclamation of a Papuan, "Our children will destroy us!" to exemplify and prove many premises.

Considerable name dropping and bows to Soand-So for an idea here and a tidbit of information there help mar the narrative style, already overburdened by a plethora of italicizing, latinizing, parenthetical asides, and quotation marks.

WILLIAM A. LESSA

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Like his fellow-former-biologist, Kinsey, who went from the study of wasps to the study of human sexual behavior, Bates has come from the study of mosquitoes to an interest in human

population.

Except for the first and last, the topics considered in this book are about like those in any conventional book on population. The first chapter, "from mosquitoes to people," is a rather personal account of the reasons for the author's interest in population. The remaining chapters are on the numbers of men, the nature and kinds of man, the means of subsistence, human reproduction, the control of reproduction, the causes of death, war, famine, disease, the post-ponement of death, migration, eugenics, the study of populations, and science and human affairs.

The author modestly emphasizes at the outset that he "can lay no claim to being an expert on any of the topics discussed in the book." Although this may be true insofar as the demographic topics are concerned the purpose of the book was not to present a technical treatise on demography. Instead there were the two-fold objectives of preparing, mainly for laymen, (1) a discussion of the field of demography from the standpoint of a biologist and (2) a critique of the existing status of science in human affairs and recommendations in this area.

The materials in the book were used in 1954 for the Timothy Hopkins Lectures at Stanford University. Each of the demographic topics is treated in long historical perspective and in most cases the author succeeds in making it interesting. His wide reading, his close observation, his easy style, and his effortless witticisms all help in making The Prevalence of People quite

readable

There are several instances in which it seems that rather than expend the physical effort to do a little checking in the library, the author is content to settle for a vague sentence or for a slightly inaccurate one. Examples are: ". . . This is called the 'crude birth rate' and it is crude because it fails to take into account the number of females of reproductive age present in the population—a number that may vary greatly from region to region, or from one period of time to another. These 'age adjusted' birth rates have a limited usefulness, however, because the necessary data are difficult to come by" (pp. 91-92). "There is no way, from the literature, of gaining any quantitative measure of the extent of either infanticide or abortion now or in past times" (p. 104).

However, to offset mildly exasperating sentences of this type are some that stimulate a chuckle. Thus, after a brief description of the manner in which the parasite that causes malaria "edges through the cells of the stomach wall of the mosquito and forms a cyst which grows and eventually bursts to release hundreds of 'sporozoites' into the body cavity of the mosquito," Bates states: ". . . As far as we can tell, the parasite does not harm the mosquito . . . It has always seemed to me, though, that these growing cysts . . . must at least give the mosquito something corresponding to a stomach-ache" (p. 165).

One of the reasons for the author's newlyfound interest in population is his belief that this field offers a promising area for interdisciplinary research. Bates has a great deal to say about the artificiality of the boundaries that separate the various disciplines. "If there is a basic thesis in this book of mine, it is that numbers of men, the prevalence of people, can best be understood in cultural terms. There are always the underlying biological facts of reproduction and death; but this biology, this animal nature of the human species, is shaped and modified by cultural forces in all sorts of ways" (p. 241). . . . "The problem, then, is not only one of continuing the development of social research, but of communicating the results of this research to all sectors of society and especially to the action groups. I think the ivory-tower complex, the isolating wall of jargon, is unfortunate in any science, but particularly unfortunate in social science" (p. 245). This is a point of view on which the author feels strongly and it is one which perhaps sociologists in particular might ponder to advantage.

CLYDE V. KISER

Milbank Memorial Fund

The Shopping Center Versus Downtown: A Motivation Research on Shopping Habits and Attitudes in Three Cities. By C. T. Jonassen. Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University, Bureau of Business Research, College of Commerce and Administration, 1955. xviii, 170 pp. \$3.50.

Like the journey to work, the journey to shop is an essential characteristic of contemporary urban life. A full scale trend away from shopping in the central business district to shopping in suburban centers would involve, as Dr. Jonassen says, "a radical reordering of the ecological and functional structure of urban communities." The effect on land values and investments would be tremendous. The volume reviewed deserves welcome as an attempt to provide a basis for evaluating trends in consumer

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The research described is a replication of an earlier study of Columbus, Ohio, during which the research design and essential tools were developed. Four census tracts each were purposively selected in Seattle and Houston. A real sampling techniques were used in obtaining samples of 150 respondents from each tract. Revised versions of the measuring devices developed in the Columbus study were used. Shopping Habit Scale I provides a quantitative measure of downtown vs. suburban shopping practices. Shopping Attitude Scale II measures satisfaction with these two types of shopping situations. Validity and reliability of these scales appears to be satisfactory. As might be expected, the scales show substantial intercorrelation.

The text of this book is heavily methodological and the general reader will wonder why the appendices were not used for such details as scale construction, number of minutes consumed per interview, and number of columns filled on each master punchcard. (However, it is better to have these details in the text than to find them omitted entirely). Considering this methodological emphasis and the 161 tables presented, it is surprising that no frequency distributions are provided for the scores on the two scales. Particularly since the analysis deals almost exclusively with means and the difference between means, some information on the normality of the distributions would aid the reader's interpretation. Unless the distributions were badly skewed, analysis of variance and analysis of covariance would seem to be more useful statistical tools than the ones selected. Also, the continual use of "critical ratios" imposes on the reader the task of looking up the actual probabilities.

A more important criticism, however, concerns the lack of an adequate theoretical framework. We find that the 50-64 age category is more strongly oriented toward downtown than is the 18-34 or 35-49 year group, that females more than males tend to be oriented to downtown, and that "skilled" workers tend to show greater orientation toward suburban shopping than do other categories of workers. It is the lack of theory that leaves these findings apparently disparate and inconsequential. The work Gregory P. Stone has done on city shoppers and urban identification deals with an aspect of the same phenomenon but the theoretical significance seems much more apparent. One wonders if both the suburban shopping center and the downtown shopping area do not appeal mainly to Stone's economic consumers rather than those he calls personalizing, ethical, or apathetic consumers? These criticisms are not meant to depreciate Dr. Jonassen's findings that "the downtown section has the advantage over the suburban shopping centers in all three cities on sixteen of twenty-three factors" (p. 90). He has made real contribution in an area where information is badly needed. While space limitations have prevented discussion of the findings, the book itself is readily available at a reasonable price. It should be read by all those interested in the field and should stimulate its readers to further research along these lines.

WALTER T. MARTIN

University of Oregon

Freedom in Agricultural Education. By CHARLES M. HARDIN. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955. xviii, 275 pp. \$4.50.

Institutions, by the word's common meaning, are at once the creatures and creators of society. Certainly no system of schools could be found that would be free of the pressures to conform at least to the main strictures in its societal context. Hence, schools free to study and to teach, whether public or private in support, can be pervasive only in a free society. Conversely, a free society probably can endure only if its institutions for learning are free.

A school system that penetrates all the recesses of a vast society and thus becomes accessible to the whole population is so big that it can rely for support only on formally public—that is, governmental—appropriations. Furthermore, where local publics differ widely in resources, equalization is in the general public interest, and this requires formal public administration of the appropriations. Certainly no system of agricultural colleges or universities as vast and as expensive as our land-grant system could have been expected to come into existence by the grace of private endowment, philanthropic foundation, denominational support or the gifts of doners.

Can a big and complicated society equip itself with a big and ramified yet free college and university system, or is freedom inevitably lost in the necessity of keeping public favor? The question is increasingly urgent in our society of soaring population and jet-stream automation. We face a trend toward special- and general-purpose public colleges and universities, and we don't know whether to promote the trend because we fear ignorance or resist it because we fear the loss of freedom.

Hardin's case study of agricultural research and extension in the land grant college-United States Department of Agriculture system helps us toward an objective decision. Featured topics in the book are the history of controversial

issues in agriculture, federal grants without federal control, action agencies, intrastate politics, college politics, policy oriented research and extension, the Association of Land-grant Colleges; the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and the special cases of Iowa margarine, Kentucky low-nicotine tobacco, and Pennsylvania's Extension secession. An unavoidable blemish is revealed by the author's occasional confession that he speaks of events that "cannot be described without risk of disclosing the source.' Yet 60 of the 275 pages are footnotes of validation. To one who has been around colleges of agriculture as boy or man for nearly forty years the anecdotal text is vividly reminiscent, is fun to read, and has the ring of truth.

The conclusion seems to be neither that freedom is fully guaranteed, nor that freedom is inevitably stifled in the situation exemplified by our research and extension in agriculture. There are glorious cases of great scientific accomplishment and great teaching in stoutly defended full freedom, and there are equally inglorious cases of Galileo-like withdrawal, retraction or diversionary yielding to pressures of politics or business. The reviewer's father is dead, and Hardin couldn't have interviewed him about the extension director-also dead-who, by father's word, told him because of criticism from businessmen, to make "more smoke and less fire" in his dedicated effort to organize farmer cooperatives. But enough other cases are cited to warn us that freedom's wings have now and then been clipped, seldom by national scissors but more often by intra-state and local snipping.

No comparisons are made in the book, but one doubts that greater freedom could have been found in an equally large array of non-public colleges and universities. The heavy hands of denomination, donor and alumnus bring to the private school a set of pressures no more gentle or yielding than those from the buffeting and turmoil of politics around the land grant college. The inference here is that neither public nor private institutions, as such, are either inherently free or inherently captive.

Each is potentially free and potentially restrained. The inescapable obligation of the institution and its workers is to strive continuously toward the goal of freedom. If, somehow, we can show the public that its own democratic perpetuity vests in free education, the public will keep us free; the responsibility to make the public understand is ours.

A final sentence bearing on conservatism in the agricultural colleges is especially arresting: "America is fortunate in the temperance of its agricultural leadership; but in the present and prospective social tensions, temperance by itself will prove insufficient. Enlightened and vigorous statesmanship will be required."

Howard W. Beers
University of Kentucky

Towards an Understanding of Juvenile Delinquency: A study of 8,464 Cases of Juvenile Delinquency in Baltimore. By Bernard Lander. New York: Columbia University Press, 1954. xvi, 143 pp. \$3.00.

This succinct and modest monograph is highly recommended as a stimulating model of sociological reasoning with statistical data in the field of delinquency. It represents an intensive analysis of the variations in the juvenile delinquency rate by census tracts in relation to seven variables: (1) median school years completed, (2) median monthly rent, (3) percentage homes over-crowded, (4) percentage non-whites, (5) percentage homes owner-occupied, (6) percentage homes sub-standard, (7) percentage foreignborn.

The delinquency rate is based on the first appearance of 8,464 cases in the Baltimore Juvenile Court on an official delinquency petition during the four year period from 1939 to 1942. Because of the variables related to the reporting of delinquent acts and the screening process preceding the filing of delinquency petitions, this measure has been repeatedly questioned as an index of delinquency. Students of the problem have concluded, however, that it is a reliable index of the relative incidence of delinquent acts when the objective is the calculation of comparative rates for various areas of the city. In fact, there are competing factors operating which suggest that this index minimizes the differentials in rates. Lander, undoubtedly anticipating criticism, is overly defensive of his use of this index.

Zero order correlations are obtained for all of the variables with the delinquency rate. The correlation coefficients vary from —.80 for home ownership to —.16 for percent foreignborn. Except for the foreign-born factor the variables show high intercorrelations.

Lander pursues this problem by calculating partial correlation coefficients, and the factor, home ownership, emerges as the only significant variable. The analysis is carried further by making adjustments for curvilinearity. At this point two factors emerge as significant, percent non-white and home ownership. The index of partial correlation for these two factors are .1229 and .2348, respectively, whereas for all other factors the index is .0000 or close to it. When the curvilinear "beta" coefficients are compared the percent non-white factor is significant at the .05 level and home ownership at the .01 level. The

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coefficient of multiple correlation for all of the variables is .8430 and the index of multiple correlation (taking account of curvilinearity) is

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The results of the partial correlation analysis finds further confirmation in the factor analysis of the variables. Two basic clusters of variables are obtained. The first cluster contains the variables, delinquency rate, percentage non-white, and percentage homes owner-occupied. Lander hypothesizes that this cluster may best be characterized as an "anomic factor." He notes that the delinquency rate is a measure of this anomic factor and home ownership is an index of social stability. Similarly, many Negroes in an area is regarded as "a feature of urban environments that are in process of transition or are characterized by instability."

These three variables are contrasted with a second cluster of variables (education, rent, overcrowding, and substandard housing) which is characterized as an "economic" or "socioeconomic factor." The factor loadings of this second cluster of four variables are high on the socio-economic factor and very low on the anomic factor. The reverse is true of the three variables in the first cluster. Lander concludes that almost all of the co-variation can be accounted for in terms of these two fundamental factors and that delinquency is fundamentally related to the stability or anomie of an area and is not basically associated with the economic characteristics of the area. Thus a low delinquency rate would be expected for a stable community "even though it were characterized by poverty, bad housing and over-crowding."

The final step of the analysis predicts the delinquency rate on the basis of only the two variables, home ownership and percentage non-white. This relationship yields an index of multiple correlation of .85 which compares favorably with the index of .88 obtained with all seven variables.

A particularly provocative finding concerns the pronounced curvilinear relationship of percentage non-white and the delinquency rate. Lander points out that the delinquency rate is highest in the areas where the percentage non-white is close to fifty percent. He accounts for this by the fact that social instability is greatest where the racial mixture is nearly equal. It is equally possible that the curvilinear relationship at this point is more accurately accounted for by reporting variations because of a greater disposition to resort to legal sanctions in an area of high racial tension.

Lander's analysis calls into question the validity of attempts by Shaw to account for the variations in delinquency rates in terms of the processes of city growth. Lander finds no support for the assumption that physical space or locale

in themselves are independent or causal factors in predicting or understanding delinquency.

This is a carefully conducted and interpreted research study which does a good deal to clarify the relevance of various commonly used indices of delinquency rates. The theoretical interpretation of the findings does not escape the tautological character which Lander criticizes in the work of Burgess. Nor does it add to our understanding of delinquent conduct except as it hypothetically points to the problem of general social instability as the relevant predisposing condition. It should be noted, as Lander points out in passing, that one of the relevant variables, home ownership, might not be a good index of delinquency in a city such as New York or Chicago where social stability can often characterize sections of the population which are highly mobile from a residential standpoint.

This book should prove stimulating reading to ecologists and persons interested in the problem of delinquency.

LLOYD E. OHLIN

University of Chicago

Measuring Leisure-Time Needs: A Report of the Group Work Council Research Project, February, 1955. By VIRGINIA KANN WHITE. Cleveland: Welfare Federation of Cleveland, 1955, xiii, 96 pp. and Volume II (Appendix). Mimeographed. \$1.50.

The purposes of this study were two-fold: "(1) to evolve criteria for determining what constitutes need for community-subsidized leisure-time services, and (2) to establish a method for measuring relative need among the various geographic areas of the community." In pursuit of these objectives the study attempts to answer the following questions: "(1) what needs of individuals do leisure-time services meet? (a) Which of these needs are common to most individuals? (b) Which of these needs are peculiar to certain groups of the population? (2) What are the values of leisure-time services to the general community? (3) How can the degree to which the various areas need community-subsidized leisure-time services be measured? (4) How adequately are existing services meeting the needs in each area? (5) What are the unmet needs in each area?" (p. 6).

The undertaking as outlined above is obviously a large order and it is not possible in the space allotted to this review to go into details regarding the numerous ways and means adopted in attempting to secure answers to these questions. Suffice it to say that the study falls in three general divisions: "(1) the preparation of statements outlining the basic values of leisure-time services to individuals and the general community, guiding principles for planning leisure-time services and criteria which would serve as

a basis for determining priorities in carrying out a community program. (2) Determination of a method of quantifying the established criteria in such a manner as to reflect relative needs for leisure-time services among the 42 social planning areas. This would involve determining what factors could be measured directly, which could only be measured indirectly and what factors could not be measured statistically within the limitations of this study. (3) The collection of pertinent data which would reflect services and facilities available in each area in such a manner as to permit analysis of the extent to which the leisure-time needs of each were being met" (pp. 13-14). Committees consisting chiefly of social workers and administrators of social agencies in collaboration with a professional research staff devoted themselves to each of these three divisions of inquiry.

The first of these undertakings was obviously the most difficult and the results here are the least objective. This is no reflection on the earnestness and competence of the committee which devoted itself to this problem, but is rather a reflection of the unsatisfactory state of the techniques thus far developed and used in the social sciences for the objective determination of human values in every field. The conclusions on the first point, therefore, consist chiefly of the opinions of the committee regarding these matters. It may be that this was primarily what was desired, namely, and expression of consensus of values on the part of specially qualified community leaders.

The second and third divisions of the study lend themselves to more objective procedures and the bulk of the report is devoted to an account of the details incidental to ranking the social planning areas of Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) Ohio, according to the degree of their leisure-time needs and the degree to which these needs are met. This involves interesting problems in index construction which are of great practical and theoretical interest to sociologists as well as to social workers and administrators. Seven excellent charts are included. The resulting report, in addition to its value to the community directly concerned, has important general implications regarding more objective methods for determining social work policy.

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG

University of Washington

Isn't One Wife Enough? The Story of Mormon Polygamy. By KIMBALL YOUNG. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1954. xiv, 476 pp. \$6.00.

This book has been long awaited by both Professor Young's colleagues and a still wider circle of friends and acquaintances who are interested in the fascinating Mormon episode. No one is better qualified to write it, and over the years of its preparation the author has doubtless grown tired of the repeated injunctions to "finish that book." The book is now here, and it contains both good fun and good instruction.

Kimball Young is Brigham Young's grandson. and from his earliest years he was steeped in the Mormon history, which was not at all distant in the memories of men when Kimball was a young boy at the turn of the century. Moreover, he was active in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints until young adulthood. The author has not only made an independent historical investigation of the family institution of the Mormons, he has by virtue of his lifelong associations with Mormons and Mormonism been able to go behind the documents, interviews, and anecdotes that his twenty-year study accumulated. This interpretative dimension to a research in Mormonism is particularly necessary, because for nearly a half century this topic aroused as much emotion in the U.S. as almost any other.

Clearly and interestingly written, this book is a welcome addition to the literature on the family. More specifically, it contributes to the understanding of institutionalization, in this case the institutionalization and dissolution of a polygynous system among a people whose earliest socialization was ascetic and monogamous; and whose neighbors and fellow nationals were strongly opposed to polygyny. It was inevitable that external coercion should destroy polygyny, before several generations had grown accustomed to it. On the other hand, it seems equally clear that, as against the common report that women were scarce in the West, many women were willing to enter marriage on such a basis. Moreover, the Mormons were (and remained) successful in establishing firmly the economic and political bases of their settlement. The national persecution of the Mormons destroyed official polygyny, but the Church and its settlement continued to grow in size and prosperity, in contrast to other economic and sexual utopias of the 19th Century U. S.

Professor Young has not analyzed adequately the factors that led to the acceptance of polygyny, but he has presented much case history material on the strains of polygyny as experienced by adults who had not had sufficient anticipatory socialization for the polygynous roles. Had Joseph Smith or Brigham Young been a comparative anthropologist, the structure of roles would have been more carefully worked out in advance. How does the first (and perhaps contented) wife react, when she sees her husband "courting" a single woman? How does the husband allocate his scarce resources among several wives, if there are no cultural definitions to guide him? Indeed, if we view institutions

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In ge menstrua esteem o plained a did not childbirth did not those wh differed f as a set of interlocking role definitions, it is safe to say that polygyny was not fully institutionalized before it began to be broken up by zealous U. S. officials and citizens. Yet it was being rapidly institutionalized, and long after the Manifesto (1890) cases of Mormon polygyny continued to occur. It is to be remembered, moreover, that, though some Mormon women, and perhaps most outsiders, believed its basis lay in mere lust, it is clear that at least on the conscious level the Mormon men held to an ascetic ideal, and really believed that its justification lay in procreation and in theological doctrine.

This is, then, a contribution to our social history. At several points we could wish for a more systematic and comparative analysis of polygynous family structure, but the necessary data have been presented here in a fashion that lets us enter these family lives as the Mormons themselves experienced them.

WILLIAM J. GOODE

Columbia University

Maternal Emotions: A Study of Women's Feelings toward Menstruation, Pregnancy, Childbirth, Breast Feeding, Infant Care, and Other Aspects of Their Feminity. By NILES NEWTON. New York: Paul B. Hoeber, Inc. (Medical Book Department of Harper & Brothers), 1955. xi, 140 pp. \$3.00.

The author of this study, a research associate in obstetrics at the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine, interviewed 246 mothers of newborn babies in the rooming-in wards of the Jefferson Hospital, Philadelphia, between April, 1950 and March, 1951. The first 56 interviews were exploratory. The final statistical analysis was based on 123 mothers interviewed on the first and second postpartum days. Most of the subjects were married Protestant Negro multiparas; there were, however, 28 unmarried or separated mothers, 35 primiparas, 20 white women, and 23 Catholic women. The women were asked about their feelings toward: menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth, breast feeding, rooming-in care of the baby, satisfaction in women's role in life, and wish to be a man. Data were also available from medical case records and Terman Masculinity-Femininity tests.

In general, women who complained about menstruation differed from those who did not in esteem of the masculine role; women who complained about pregnancy differed from those who did not in role acceptance; women who felt childbirth to be hard differed from those who did not in other aspects of motherhood also; those who wanted to breast-feed their children differed from those who did not in other aspects

of their role as female; those who complained about having to care for their babies differed from those who did not in other aspects of their roles also; women who showed envy of men showed respect for masculinity in other ways and disparaged their female reproductive role; and women who had least desire for intercourse tended to have negative feelings toward menstruation, but positive feelings toward lactation. The author recognizes that her specific findings are less significant than the implication inherent in them. She concludes her study by suggesting the hypothesis that industrialized societies undervalue biological femininity and over-value cultural femininity and that the two are incompatible. "The culturally feminine women in this study showed no greater liking for menstruation, child-birth, or breast feeding, but were more likely to feel satisfied by women's role in modern society. They definitely tended to dislike pregnancy. Furthermore, the culturally feminine women were extremely likely to wish to be men. This last relationship was so great that it was statistically significant (p<0.04) in spite of the small number of women studied."

The author feels that biological femininity calls for active, productive, independence, but that modern society pushes women toward unmotherliness and dependence, and that somehow or other some reconciliation of biological and cultural femininity must be achieved.

The methodological and interpretative defects in this study are less important than the interesting suggestions it makes with reference to the feminine role in our society. It is a valuable companion to Mirra Komarowsky's recent study of role confusion of modern women, far less well written, less rigorously sociological, more retricted, but equally suggestive.

The fact of the matter is that we do not need the full reproductive capacity of modern women. Women can fulfill their productive and maternal roles and still have almost half of their lives left to live. We have, in effect, made possible a third sex; its members are women, but women with their maternal roles behind them. It will be interesting to see what society is going to make of them.

JESSIE BERNARD
The Pennsylvania State University

Management of Addictions. Edited by Edward-Podolsky. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955. xvii, 413 pp. \$7.50.

This volume consists of 35 chapters by 47 authors presenting highly varied discussions of addiction to alcohol and drugs. Twenty-six chapters deal with alcohol, and 9 with drugs. The various chapters appear to be unedited reprints of articles from technical journals, but dates and

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places of original publication are not given. There is no discernible plan or organization to the book. It is merely a collection of independently written

and separately published articles.

With few exceptions the authors are medical men. The articles are couched in technical language and written for physicians. Many include detailed instructions for treatment, dosage, administration, and the like.

On the many unsettled issues regarding addiction-its etiology, underlying causes, interpretation, and therapy, the views expressed are almost exclusively those of medicine. Psychiatry is represented by only a few articles, and except for incidental references other interpretations

It is impossible in this short review to give an adequate summary of the material included in this volume. The variety of interpretations of, and treatments used for addiction is striking evidence of the lack of reliable knowledge in this field.

In the case of alcohol the articles deal with: (1) treatment for acute effects of excess; (2) treatment, largely by a variety of drugs and adrenal extracts, to remove anxieties and other tensions which often precede and lead up to the onset of drinking bouts; (3) treatment aimed specifically at breaking the drinking pattern, chiefly aversion treatment and antabuse; (4) procedures designed to remove underlying needs and motivations assumed to support addiction, either by medication or psychiatry and psycho-

In a few chapters eclectic interpretations of addiction are presented, and many types of therapy are suggested to be used singly, together, or in series as particular cases seem to demand. In these the value of follow-up supervision to assist in family, social, and vocational adjust-

ment is recognized.

In the case of opiates and other drugs the major problem is seen as that of getting the patient successfully through the withdrawal sickness. Minor reference is made to the problem of psychological and social readjustment.

The measurement of therapeutic success is, with very few exceptions, quite inadequate, consisting generally of citing a few clinical cases. There is very little reference to the not inconsiderable body of research material in the broad field of addictions. The articles seem to reflect largely the clinical experience of busy practitioners rather than the results of systematic study and research.

The book is of interest to social scientists only in so far as they wish to know what the other

half thinks and does about addiction.

J. V. BERREMAN

Incest Behavior. By S. KIRSON WEINBERG. New York: Citadel Press, 1955. xiv, 291 pp. \$5.00.

The core of Incest Behavior is the data gathered by interviewing 199 detected and four "undetected" cases of incest in the Chicago, Illinois, area. This core is supplemented by a general consideration of the so-called incest problem, its definition, incidence, history, and

various interpretations.

The systematic sociological orientation of the present study draws on four main sources: (1) the sociological viewpoint of George Mead, that deviant behavior emerges from a matrix of social relations; (2) the psychoanalytic view, that psychosexual development is integrally bound up with personality development; (3) the relativistic perspective, that behavior is a function of the social structure, particularly that of the family: and (4) the methodological approach of W. I. Thomas and R. E. Parks, that persons can be investigated in their natural settings.

The data obtained by intensive interviews of the incest participants and their families were sifted and organized to throw light on the incest participant's developmental history, on the family setting, on the pattern of roles permitting and sustaining the incest behavior, and on the disorganizing effects on the incest transgressor

and the family.

A specific set of social-situational factors emerged in relation to the families' failure to maintain the incest taboo. These were: the socioeconomic disorganization of the families. alcoholism, abnormal (other than sexual) family relationships, sexual promiscuity in the family sex culture, absence of family discipline, sadism, the relative helplessness of certain family members, family isolation from outside groups, and a history of prior personal disorganization of a non-incestuous character.

Stultifying home conditions also found associated with incest were crowded quarters, common beds, absence of privacy, and faulty edu-

cation.

The conclusions of the present study focus on an estimate of incidence, on a classification of types of incest, and on a description of the

main types of participants.

The detected incidence of this "universal crime" in the populations of English-speaking Western communities is less than one in a million. The different types of incest, according to Weinberg's classification are: (1) motherson; (2) father-daughter; and (3) sibling incest. Mixed cases, such as father-daughter-brothersister, were also found. In the sample understudy, the father-daughter type was most frequent, the mother-son least.

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showed variations for these types, as judged both by the incestuous families and a sample of the general population. Condemnation was greatest for the mother-son type and least for the sibling incest behavior.

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The aggressive incest participants were found to have sufficiently distinct characteristics to be classifiable into three types: (1) the endogamic, socially isolated type, who tended, personality-wise, to be paranoid or schizoid; (2) the paedophilic type, averse to adult sex partners or seeking young partners when adults were inaccessible or rejective, who seemed to be "acting out character neuroses"; and (3) the indiscriminately promiscuous type, who tended to be sadistic, ineffective, inadequate, and of a psychopathic disposition.

While the incest behavior often grew out of family disorder, it also led consistently to further family disorganization and conflict through shame and a confusion of family roles.

The limitations of the present study spring from four sources: (1) the small and inevitably biased nature of the geographically limited, detected sample studied: (2) lack of a control group for comparison; (3) the lack of extended clinical, depth interviews of a prolonged sort; and (4) the failure to compare, in addition to other human cultures, the relevant material from studies of the "family-clan" life of other higher mammals, and in particular that of the anthropoid apes.

Dr. Weinberg, who is professor of sociology at Roosevelt University, in Chicago, has written, in addition to the present book, a number of professional articles and a systematic treatise on mental disturbances viewed from a sociological viewpoint, Society and Personality Disorders.

FLETCHER McCORD

Tulsa University

Politics in the Press: An Analysis of Press Content in 1952 Senatorial Campaigns. By LEROY C. FERGUSON and RALPH H. SMUCKLER. East Lansing: Michigan State College, 1954. 100 pp. \$1.00.

The fashion of content analysis as a form of cial science research has produced numerous studies. Some have been predominantly quantitative, some essentially qualitative and others mixed. In writing a review of a book on content analysis three years ago, I said, "One may expect to see in the immediate future an enormous waste of energy in poorly selected, maldirected, undefined projects in this field carried on with ill-defined units." Happily, this study cannot be so characterized. This monograph reports on an empirical study of the nature of the campaign appeals in the newspaper press of Connecticut and Wisconsin newspapers for the

six-week period preceding election day. The aim was to describe and analyze the nature of the appeal to the electorate through the press, the manner in which the press presented campaign news and the use of policy issues in the cam-

paign as reflected in the press.

Eleven daily papers and thirty weeklies from Wisconsin and nine dailies and thirteen weeklies from Connecticut were included in the sample. The content of every other day's issue of the daily newspapers was coded. This is tedious. laborious work of a type which has not appealed to too many political scientists in the years since Stuart Rice's pioneering studies of the 1920's on quantitative methods in Politics. The frequency with which domestic and foreign policy issues were used by candidates in comparison to non-policy issues (as the press reported them in news items, advertisements, letters to the editor and editorials) was counted and tallied. Some 25 per cent of items in Wisconsin and 31 per cent in Connecticut were policy issues. Such counting substantiates with quantitative proportions the general knowledge that there are many appeals other than discussion of policies in a political campaign. Of the non-policy themes, the personalities of candidates were by far the largest issue. The personalities of McCarthy in Wisconsin and Benton in Connecticut were of a type to loom large in newspaper discussion. In Wisconsin, Senator McCarthy received three and one-half times as much news attention as his opponent, Thomas Fairchild. It is the achievement of just such proportionate statements as a result of the laborious counting that warrants quantitative content analysis. The next step would be qualitative content analysis of the kinds of news about the candidates.

The authors are members of the Department of Political Science and Research Associates of the Governmental Research Bureau of Michigan State College. This is the first research publication of the Bureau. The publisher of this monograph is Michigan State College. As the binding was practically detached before I had handled the book for one hour, it is evident that technical excellence in publishing is not demanded by the institution. This is unfortunate, as many university presses have been achieving such high levels of publishing skill of late years.

WILLIAM ALBIG

University of Illinois

Politics, Planning and the Public Interest: The Case of Public Housing in Chicago. By MARTIN MYERSON and EDWARD C. BANFIELD. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955. 353 pp. \$5.00.

The purpose of this book is to describe how administrative and political decisions are made and to provide a framework of analysis which will permit better decisions to be made. The authors seek to accomplish this task by a case study of the processes whereby sites were selected for public housing in Chicago.

The first seven chapters of this well-planned book describe the backgrounds of the case, the chief actors and their organizations, the climate of community opinion, the development of policy, the struggle and its settlement; the last three chapters analyze the decision-making process in terms of politics, planning, and the public interest, the key concepts of the theoretical framework which are explained by Professor Banfield in a supplementary "Note on Conceptual Scheme."

In some ways this may prove to be a controversial book. Although the authors took precautions to be fair in their selection of relevant decisions and events to analyze by the use of documentary materials, many of the actors involved are bound to dispute the "facts" and particularly inferences therefrom since men are notoriously unable to agree on the details of a simple event right after it occurred, and events here are tremendously complex and transpired several years ago. Others, both liberals and conservatives, who have fought to achieve clean city government will disagree strenuously with the authors' generally favorable evaluation of machine politics. The political boss is seen as a benevolent despot, and political machines not as destroyers of democratic institutions, but rather as sub rosa agencies through which the formal democratic institutions are made functional, and through which they are guarded from irresponsible pressure groups and unscrupulous demagogues using mass communication media to unloosen racial, ethnic and eco-

This is a book from which city planners, municipal administrators, community organizers, and citizens could profit. While it does not give specific recommendations for action or prescriptions for solutions of problems raised, or succeed in describing exactly how a given decision is achieved, it does identify and evaluate various factors involved in the decision-making process and their interrelationships. These factors are highlighted and made more meaningful by the authors' experience with the concrete events and by the utilization of a conceptual scheme to analyze these events. The insight thus gained should be a valuable guide to many who must grope their way to a decision through the luxuriant jungle of city politics and conflicting interests.

A conceptual scheme derived from several social sciences and showing the influences of such men as Edward A. Shils, Karl Mannheim, Robert Merton, and Talcott Parsons may, however, prove heavy going for the general reader, and some may prefer to do without such aids to understanding. For example, we learn that "a particular issue may be said to have intrinsic-concrete, instrumental-abstract, or symbolic-idological significance (or some combination of these) from the standpoint of a party to it." The style of the book is, however, for the most part lucid and clear, but in the opinion of this reviewer its utility and readability would be enhanced if it were purged of some of its more elaborate elaborations and polysyllabic vocables.

This work has numerous points of interest for anyone concerned with urban sociology. It provides a valuable insight into the institutional characteristics of American urban society which have to be considered in the solution of the housing problem, and it illuminates the relationship between this problem and race relations. It suggests a different approach to the treatment of such traditional subjects of urban sociology as housing, government and politics, social structure, and the dynamics of power group relations. Furthermore it indicates numerous areas of urban research and attempts to define the proper function of research and the role of the social researcher in the planning process.

CHRISTEN T. JONASSEN
The Ohio State University

Labor-Management Relations in Illini City.

Volume 1. The Case Studies. Volume 2. Explorations in Comparative Analysis. By W.

ELLISON CHALMERS, MARGARET K. CHANDLER, LOUIS L. MCQUITTY, ROSS STAGNER, DONALD E. WRAY, and MILTON DERBER. Champaign: University of Illinois, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, 1953 (Vol. 1) and 1954 (Vol. 2). xlii, 809 pp. \$10.00 (Vol. 1). x, 662 pp. \$7.50 (Vol. 2). \$15.00 (Vols. 1 and 2).

Soon after World War II several institutes of labor and industrial relations were instigated to attack problems of union-management relations on an interdisciplinary basis. The Illinois Institute is the first of such organizations to publish the preliminary results of long-range efforts of sociologists, economists, and psychologists to study union-management relations on the local community level. The aim of this ambitious research team was to make a cross-sectional study of union-management relations in a small midwest city (50,000-100,000 population) with the conceptual and methodological tools current in the participating disciplines. To achieve this end eight establishments were selected for intensive case study over a two year period. The industries

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represented were: grain processing, metal manuy, howfacturing, garment manufacturing, construction, reader. and trucking. In addition, the community setting ch aids of union-management relations was also exn that amined. Although the case studies were conhave ducted by individua! psychologists, economists, or symand sociologists, each investigator attempted to mbinaapply a common frame of reference to the arty to materials, in addition to applying whatever for the concepts and techniques his own particular disopinion cipline had to offer. would of its

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The theoretical framework developed to describe union-management relations in the individual establishments and to compare the establishments was simple and direct. The central concept to depict the interaction between union and management was accommodation ". . . the total pattern of pressures, demands, habits, concessions, and resistances which is constantly changing [in response to the] modification of goals and tactics to adapt to the other side." Three aspects of this accommodation process were selected for analysis: the attitudinal climate of the establishment, the economic status of the workers and the plant, and the extent of union influence. Each of these aspects was considered in turn to be dependent on a number of "determinants." Both aspects and determinants were derived from a careful perusal of the literature. Subsequently a number of hypotheses were derived which related the determinants to each of the aspects of union-management accommodation. The community was considered one such determinant.

Volume I is dedicated to a study of the community and the eight establishments selected for the research. The community analysis by Donald E. Wray represents a scholarly advance beyond the descriptive studies of industry-community relations. After carefully investigating the functional relations between community agencies and industrial establishments, he tested some of the major hypotheses found in the research literature. Further, the community study was integrated into the research design by examining in quantitative terms the impact of public opinion and community norms on the three aspects of industrial relations: attitudinal climate, economic status, and extent of union influence.

The case studies, which comprise the bulk of the first volume, are excellent source material for students who want detailed pictures of daily union-management relations at the local plant level. Although most of the cases underemphasize the impact of technological and its contingent organizational changes on the pattern of labor relations, each case has a genuine contribution to make. Thus the grain processing case provides an excellent analysis of the grievance process; the metal products case has a

penetrating examination of the mechanisms involved in the transition from paternalism to collective bargaining; the construction industry case carefully develops hypotheses relating to attitudinal climate; the garment industries case analyzes in detail the relation of worker groups to union activities. Taken together, the cases demonstrate that although national labor leaders may be concerned with ideological problems and the struggle for power and status, the operations of the unions at the local level seem to fit the Perlman-Commons theory.

Generally speaking, although the cases satisfy the objectives of the research design, they are written without imagination and with few theoretical concerns. Hypotheses and premises are sometimes confused. The attempt to relate personality theory to union-management relations is inadequate and logically incoherent. Similar attempts to explore the relations among personality selection, attitudinal climate, and plant culture are unsuccessful. The extent of union influence, as an aspect of labor relations, is never adequately handled either in its theoretical context or in its application to the case materials.

Volume II is a significant contribution to the challenging problem of bringing quantitative methods to bear on union-management relations. First, scales and other quantitative devices were devised to measure the aspects of union-management relations. Second, such measures were applied to the establishments to make possible comparisons among them, as well as comparisons among the aspects themselves. Developing measures for the determinants of the aspects was an even more intricate problem, but a necessary one to solve before hypotheses concerning the relations among the determinants and aspects of union-management relations could be tested.

The final section of volume II is devoted to a rather sophisticated analysis of the data: cluster, profile, and pattern analysis. Here the essential problem was to discover whether the variables used in the analysis of union-management relations fall in particular patterns, and second, whether the establishments themselves fall into discernable types of labor relations. Thus attempts were made to develop statistical techniques for building typologies of unionmanagement relations and typologies of industries from among the variables related to selected aspects of industrial relations. The results of these experimental devices were not spectacular but suggestive of what can be done statistically with presumably qualitative materials.

Early in volume II some twenty hypotheses are listed which revolve about the aspects and determinants of union-management relations. A majority of these may be objected to as being

circular, truistic, over-simplified, and at a low level of abstraction. Indeed when tested statistically most of the hypotheses were rejected as stated, and redefined in more precise terms. The result of the cluster, profile, and pattern analyses was to make the authors move toward a more sophisticated statement of their research hypotheses. Thus the very substantial methodo-logical contribution of this work appeared blunted by the timid approach to the theoretical problems in the field. Poor and unintegrated as theory is in the field of union-management relations, it is advanced enough to suggest basic problems that deserve the analysis which this group is capable of giving. Despite this major shortcoming these volumes represent a truly significant addition to labor-management re-

WILLIAM H. FORM

Michigan State University

Automobile Workers and the American Dream. By Ely Chinoy. Introduction by David Ries-Man. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1955. xx, 139 pp. \$3.00.

This report of proletarian aspiration and adjustment is based primarily upon 78 long, searching interviews with 62 auto workers in mid-western "Autotown" (sociologists are also fond of the cute little fashion of supposedly disguising the locale of their field studies). Interviewing was done in 1946-1947, and interview data were supplemented by "a few weeks of work in the factory," among other supplementations. The first third of the book is concerned with methodological matters,-a description of the American dream and industrial reality, of the structure of opportunity in the auto industry, and of problems of interviewing. The bulk of the book is devoted to a resume of goal and other behavioral adjustments of the interviewees.

By the time one has completed David Riesman's excellent summarizing introduction and the author's comprehensive characterization of his problem and of this "cinderella" industry, one is quite prepared for an anatomy of auto worker anomie. Indeed, as successive layers of statistical and historical facts are scraped off, the customary picture of worker alienation seems positively inevitable.

However, no such central image emerges. In fact, unless the tendencies of the author's findings have been completely misread, what initially appears as a study of anomie seems to be largely an examination of worker acquiescence and psychic passivity. Perhaps it is not an important point, but one feels that this study of "tyke-into-tycoon" mythology could have been sharpened—to cite one possibility—by a self-

conscious testing of Merton's well-known schema of goal-means reaction patterns. For there is in this study undeveloped evidence of "ritualism," little or no "innovation," some "retreatism," and an impressive volume of "conformity" mingled with dislike. (On this latter point, Riesman wisely remarks that "The notion that a man should not dislike his work is basic to Chinoy's book and those of Blum and many other industrial sociologists. . . .")

The most interesting and perhaps most original section of this study is the author's attempt to project a chronology of worker aspirations. Unfortunately, it is a chronology which gives the impression that aspiration and achievement levels are a function of age. However, the author himself quarrels in a footnote with this misconception

Although one is grateful for the fine writing. there is frequently an impatient wish that the study would have been more frankly (even though more dully) the research report that it is: that it would have featured such mundane and pedestrian research items as the author's interview schedule, tabular displays of interview data, fewer statements summarizing data by such phrases as "some," "most," "a few," and so on. However, Chinoy's study is a useful. though not distinctly original, addition to the literature of industrial sociology. It is insightfully written, with every scrap of evidence thrown into the hopper. Again and again there is a confirming generalization which rounds out the glowing mythology or details the less-thanglowing reality of the auto worker's world. It is a careful assessment of worker motivation and adjustment. It is, one might add by way of an aside, a pleasant escape from the almost unavoidable and deplorably overworked Western Electric story with its self-important re-statement of the sociology of a generation or two ago. However, this reviewer regrets he cannot share Riesman's generous optimism that Chinoy's report will serve "in topic and treatment as a model for further advance." It is probably more to the point and certainly praiseworthy in itself to say that the author more than adequately does what he set out to do.

PAUL MEADOWS

University of Nebraska

Inter-Industry Labor Mobility: The Case of the Displaced Textile Worker. By WILLIAM H. MIERNYK, with the assistance of NADINE P. RODWIN and the research staff. Boston: Northeastern University, Bureau of Business and Economic Research, 1955. vii, 158 pp. \$2.75.

The employment experience of former employees of one "reduced work force" and seven

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liquidated New England textile mills, in the known months immediately following their job sepas. For ration, is examined to ascertain some of the nce of short-run economic effects of New England's some changing industrial structure. The volume of me of nonagricultural employment in the area as a n this t "The whole has been maintained by the expansion of new industries which compensate the protracted vork is decline in textile employment. m and

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Displaced textile workers are found to experience considerable difficulty in locating new jobs, to manifest a preference for re-employment in textiles, and to evidence little mobility between areas or industries. To mitigate the resultant problem of persistent unemployment in former textile centers, the author tentatively suggests a program of an inventory of skills and aptitudes, re-training, and more vigorous placement efforts, to increase displaced workers' knowledge of job opportunities and encourage their mobility.

The study forcefully calls attention to an important social and economic problem; however, defects in the research design lessen its contribution to systematic knowledge of interindustry mobility. Case studies of mills in six labor market areas and surveys of their former employees were conducted in 1953–54. Areas differ in level of unemployment, industrial structure, size, and proximity to other labor market areas; the period since displacement ranges from less than a year to two and one-half years. But these variables are not systematically related to the employment experience of the displaced workers.

Although "general conclusions" are based on aggregated samples, the universes studied vary considerably: in Lowell, workers who voluntarily (32 per cent) or involuntarily left the mill; in New Bedford, workers not known to be currently employed by other mills in the area (73 per cent of all displaced); in Providence, union lists of former employees of three small mills; and in Lawrence, a "non-textile area," and Fall River, company lists of employees in the last quarter of operation. Sampling procedures are described inconsistently; e.g., from "a list of ... 850 remaining workers . . . we selected every fourth name, which gave us a sample of 314 workers or approximately 35 per cent . . ." (p. 113), or, "In all cases . . . the sample was randomly drawn with the population stratified on the basis of sex" (p. 7) vs. "we selected a . . . sample which was not stratified according to sex" (p. 77).

Nonresponse varied from 46 per cent in Providence to 18 per cent in Fall River. For the sixarea aggregate, interviews or mail questionnaires were obtained from 1,700 of the 2,700 workers selected for study. Comments and tabular data

suggest that workers under 46 years of age, males, the re-employed, and the residentially mobile are over-represented among nonrespondents. Discussions of the nonresponse problem are naive, e.g., the respondents are "more representative of the total population of former mill workers than the original random sample selected" (p. 61).

The survey schedule is not reproduced. Items include age, sex, labor force status, residential mobility, knowledge of and attitudes toward local labor market conditions; for the re-employed, duration of unemployment, method of obtaining a job, industrial affiliation, and earnings, skill requirements, and satisfaction of current compared with former job; and for the remainder, means of support. Data are tabulated by sex; but age controls are absent on tabulations other than re-employed vs. other workers.

The barrier to re-employment and mobility created by the relatively advanced age of the displaced workers surveyed—one-third of the males in the six-area aggregate are more than 55 years of age—is stressed; but variation in subsequent employment experience by age at displacement is not examined. The analysis leaves the problem of the displaced worker in a declining industry confounded with the more general problem of jobs for older workers.

BEVERLY DUNCAN

University of Chicago

The University Teaching of Social Sciences: Sociology, Social Psychology and Anthropology. By Pierre De Bie, Claude Lévistrauss, Joseph Nuttin and Eugene Jacobsen. Paris: UNESCO, 1954. 252 pp. \$1.75 paper. (Distributed by Columbia University Press).

Round Table Conference on the Teaching of the Social Sciences in South Asia. Papers and proceedings of the meeting organized by UNESCO at Delhi from 15 to 19 February, 1954. New Delhi, India: UNESCO, 1954. 117 pp., paper. (Distributed by Columbia University Press).

These volumes are a good pioneer attempt to examine and compare the status and teaching of certain social sciences on a world basis.

The first book is #1 in a series. Its aim is to provide "a comparative examination and analysis of the principal problems presented by the teaching of (the) three social sciences" named in the title. The method is to consolidate the careful reporting, observation and thinking of scholars from Egypt, France, Great Britain, India, Mexico, Poland, Sweden and the United States of America.

The report finds that the social sciences are relatively neglected; only in the United States is the situation moderately favorable. Compared with history and economics, sociology and anthropology rank low in student interest throughout the world.

In this short review attention is given to findings with respect to sociology and general

social science.

The position of sociology among the other social sciences is different in the various countries. In some countries, like France and Germany, sociology is a part of the philosophy curriculum; in others, like Great Britain and India (and in some instances in Germany), sociology is part of a course in related studies; in still other countries, especially the United States (but also to some extent in Great Britain), sociology is taught in special departments which grant undergraduate and graduate degrees.

The aims of sociology teaching are different, too. In France, sociology is considered a desirable part of general education for teachers, lawyers, philosophers, etc. In such a situation, sociology as a special discipline has difficulty developing, for the number of sociologists needed is small and the time available for research is limited. In the United States, on the other hand, there are many specialized departments of sociology. And, though in the United States sociology may be taken as a part of general education, there are numerous fully developed offerings for those who wish to specialize; also, with many professors in a department opportunities for research are relatively great.

In general, sociology on the world scule is characterized by diversity of point of view ranging from the philosophical to the empirical according to the cultural framework in which it has developed. However, with the increase in international contacts, the differences are lessen-

ing gradually.

Despite the diverse backgrounds at the international round table agreement upon some general recommendations was achieved. It was suggested that: (1) sociology should be a part of general education for the purpose of helping citizens understand the society in which they live; (2) sociology should be associated with other studies like economics, political science, law, etc., to help persons training in other fields gain a reliable understanding of the society in which they are to live and work; (3) sociology should also be a form of specialization for a limited number of professionals—until the need for sociological services is more clearly discerned.

With respect to the organization and content of courses the international committee suggested that: (1) "courses should be introduced dealing with the social structure of the country in which the course is given" followed by a comparative study of the structure of other countries, (2) sociology should be taught as a scientific study based on research and, (3) further developments should be made in the direction of the sociology of various sciences, including education.

The second volume reports a round table conference dealing with the social sciences in South Asia. In his inaugural address before the conference Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, vice-president of India, paid tribute to the usefulness of the social sciences as science, but plead also for use of that knowledge in "helping human

progress and world community.'

Some of the recommendations in the second volume with respect to methods of teaching are as follows: (1) in addition to lectures use should be made of discussions, written work, tutorial methods, field trips, field research and seminars; (2) textbooks should be simple in language and include concrete material from South Asia, also that "Readers," adapted to the region, be prepared to correct deficiencies in library facilities; (3) in examinations emphasis should be given to intellectually mature thought rather than to mere memorization.

The New Delhi group as well as the Paris group recognized the importance of the unity of the social sciences. To help students develop a broad general understanding it was recommended that: (1) the student "be introduced to a general view of social institutions at an early stage," (2) at an intermediate period problems be introduced which involve the use of information from two or more of the social sciences, (3) later, teams of students from different specialties work on common problems; finally, (4) at a relatively late stage a "comprehensive view of the social sciences" be attempted.

Let us hope that the pioneer efforts reported in these volumes continue for an indefinite period until more mature and detailed recommendations can be drawn up.

Leslie D. Zeleny Colorado State College of Education

Gateway to the Social Sciences. By ARTHUR W. THOMPSON. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1955. viii, 374 pp. \$2.90.

This is a book of readings intended to introduce the student to the entire range of the social sciences. The selections are chiefly excerpts from social science "classics," although some might not be so readily recognized. There are 67 selections comprising 369 double column pages. Preceding each selection is a very brief

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introductory comment about the author or the selection. The readings are divided into ten parts: "The Social Sciences" (Charles A. Beard), "Anthropology," "The Economic Institutions," "The Social Institutions," "The Political Institutions," "The Interdependence of Institutions: Government and Economic Order," "Institutions in Transition; Liberty and Democracy in an Age of Nationalism," "Institutions and the Individual: Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture," "The United States and World Institutions: International Relations," and "History." The format of the book is in no way objectionable, although some may find the perishability of a paper cover too great a

\$2.90 for a 369 page book.

A book of this type is difficult to evaluate, partly because there are few criteria which would have general acceptance, but mostly because the evaluation would of necessity hinge largely on whether or not one were committed to the "general education" objective in the so-called "general social science" survey course. Obviously a book review is no place to argue

sacrifice to make in return for the low price of

either position.

If one is committed to the general social science approach, the organization of this book is as good as any. Certainly fundamental problems are discussed, selections are lucid and few could question the authority of the authors included. It will probably be criticized by some for its brevity, particularly in view of the magnitude of the undertaking. However, brevity is not a limitation if the book is intended as a "readings book" to supplement a textbook.

As a readings book it necessarily lacks a "clear and unitary frame of reference." The author says in his preface, however, that he has deliberately chosen the selections so that diversity of viewpoints would be manifest. This reviewer concurs in Thompson's point of view—social science being what it is, namely an assortment of points of view and frames of reference with liberal admixtures of various personal and social values, simple honesty would seem to require that the student be appraised of such facts when he studies the field.

JOHN F. CUBER

Ohio State University

Modern Colonialism: Institutions and Policies.

By Thomas R. Adam. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc. (Doubleday Short Studies in Political Science), 1955. viii, 88 pp. Ninety-five cents.

This brief study is an admirable fresh survey of the institution and policies of modern colonialism within the setting of contemporary

world politics. The author properly distinguishes modern colonialism from other historic forms of intercultural contact and relations as well as from the broader and currently fashionable "underdeveloped areas." He notes that only a "rapidly diminishing fraction" of humanity remains under colonial rule, that the importance of the colonial question tends to be easily exaggerated and that minor problems in obscure areas frequently acquire a disproportionate degree of attention. Unlike many studies on colonialism which tend to regard it as a phenomenon only of West European imperialism, he includes the "colonial" policies and institutions of the Soviet Union and the United States, but unfortunately-in terms of completeness-he excludes those of Spain.

By using the problem or topical, rather than the areal, approach the study reflects threads of unity difficult to establish when contemplating the disparate problems of tropical Africa,

Soviet Asia and bits and pieces in the West Indies and the South Pacific. After a brief survey of the stated objectives of the several colonial powers and a selective discussion of certain consequences of colonialism as regards law, land tenure and labor, the author critically analyses the varying forms of imperial control (The Colonial Governor and the Colonial Service), the problems of Western institutional transfer at the central and local levels, and the various forms of international control and methods of regional collaboration developed since 1945. Two final chapters—one on economic and social policies and problems and the other on the critical issues of interracial relations and nationalism—complete what is undoubtedly the

best and most concise recent summary of the political aspects of residual colonialism.

There are a few propositions which might be seriously questioned, or which at least require considerable elucidation: "The extent of participation in local governments is the most reliable measure of active popular support given to any system of colonial rule" (p. 50); ". . . the enforced Federation (of Central Africa) will lay a basis for future African solidarity on something approaching true national lines" (p. 83); "Nationalism is unlikely to threaten Western control over southern Africa for many decades, unless it is loosed by the Europeans themselves through an intolerable assumption of superiority" (p. 83); "A common Western policy toward colonial rule should be sufficient to meet the historic crisis" (p. 85); and "On the whole they (underdeveloped communities) are prepared to endure a lag in political growth with comparative cheerfulness if their material and spiritual interests are being rapidly furthered" (p. 85). These examples point up the difficulty

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of generalization in a highly condensed study of complex issues. In general, however, the author's interpretive comments are penetrating and insightful.

James S. Coleman

University of California Los Angeles

Class and Society. By Kurt B. Mayer. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc. (Doubleday Short Studies in Sociology), 1955. vii, 88 pp. Ninety-five cents.

The Doubleday Short Studies series fills a real need in sociology by providing an outlet for short monographs and for short surveys in special fields. Mayer's study is in the latter vein. In evaluating it one should recognize the imposed space limitations and the author's stated purpose. Although Mayer organizes data around a definite theoretical framework, he admits that it is not original. The orientation employed is an adaptation of Max Weber's and carries forward analyses which Mayer has previously presented in article form. After a consideration of historical and comparative data (which is helpful in giving perspective to the American scene), the author sets forth the study's theoretical orientation: that there are three dimensions to social stratification in modern society -the economic (class), the status, and that of power. After presenting empirical data highlighting the patterns of each dimension in American society, he considers class consciousness and social mobility.

Given its purpose, I believe this short study

represents a fine bit of writing. Mayer is to be complimented for his concise and generally clear style. He condenses in an able fashion a great deal of material. I recommend this book as a good brief introduction to the field.

Any study of social class will evoke disagreements among sociologists. Here are some limitations of this study as I see them. In this discussion we shall grant the legitimacy of Mayer's approach. Although he treats each dimension of stratification quite well, he does not always satisfactorily relate one to the other. Moreover. the section on social power seems the least adequate-reflecting the lack of attention given this area by sociologists. Mayer discusses the local power structure as well as the decisionmaking process on the national level and the latter's diffuseness. Certain patterns, however. are not given sufficient attention. Mayer does not touch upon the controls exerted by extracommunity organizations over their local community agencies. Although nationally no one group holds a monopoly of power, within each organizational context (e.g., within labor) the extra-community organizations are exceedingly important. Also, such groups as Negroes and labor have gained power on the national level e.g., through Supreme Court decisions-and this has strengthened them locally. Finally, this study brought another point to mind. Should not sociologists examine the effects of current external social forces upon the American class structure? Undoubtedly these have been farreaching. GIDEON SJOBERG

The University of Texas

BOOK NOTES

The Cradle of the Penitentiary: The Walnut Street Jail at Philadelphia, 1773-1835. By NEGLEY K. TEETERS. Philadelphia, Pa.: The Pennsylvania Prison Society, 1955. xii, 152 pp. No price indicated.

Few people realize that the first penitentiary in America, also in the world, was located in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The author dug from various sources the early history of this penitentiary, known as the Walnut Street Jail. He relates for the first time many episodes that occurred in this jail. The complete story had not been told, for those who wrote about this jail "limited their remarks to the glorious decade of progressive penology from 1790 to 1799."

In order to provide a background for the analysis of the new developments in the Walnut Street Jail, the author traces the "Penology in Colonial Pennsylvania," which reflects the traditions of William Penn and the Society of Friends. During the early years of the Walnut

Street Jail some progress was made in reform work, but it was during the heyday period (1790-1799) that the greatest progress was made in prison legislation, the introduction of a labor program, inspection and treatment, housing and classification of prisoners. This was followed by an interlude of varied activities until the breakdown of the jail's administration. The period of "disillusionment and despair" was characterized by violence and jailbreaks. The expansion of the prison system in the state brought about changes in prison administration and treatment of prisoners, but the period of 1820 to 1835 constituted the declining years of the Walnut Street Jail. It was during this time that the old prison on Walnut Street was abandoned.

This study is of special value in understanding the historical developments in prison reforms and the treatment of inmates.—MARTIN H. NEUMEYER.

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A Survey of the Alcohol and Narcotics Problem in Idaho. By HARRY C. HARMSWORTH, Moscow, Idaho: University of Idaho, Department of Social Sciences, 1954. 243 pp. No price indicated.

This publication is a report or, better, two reports, of a survey undertaken by social scientists of the University of Idaho at the behest of the state legislature in 1953. The survey followed the traditional path, being concerned with the incidence of alcohol and narcotics use, their association with social problems and ameliorative efforts at the state and local level. Data were collected by means of interviews, questionnaires, and also drawn from public records of several kinds. To these were added considerable tabular material from sources other than the survey, presumably for comparative purposes and for the general information of the reader.

On the whole the findings of this investigation give Idaho a clean bill of health re alcoholism and narcotics addiction, so much so that one is inclined to wonder whether a more curtailed study based upon a few well-selected indices might not have sufficed. Be that is it may, this report should permit Idaho legislators to reach a clear decision on the necessity for creating a commission for the rehabilitation of alcoholics such as many other states are busily doing.

There are some data in this investigation which can be useful to more scientifically oriented sociologists, mainly those having to do with the attitudes of medical practitioners and law enforcement agents toward the "problems." Indeed, their "estimates" of the magnitudes of the problems probably can be used as measures of these attitudes rather than as measures of the incidence of alcohol and narcotics use or their social effects. Otherwise this publication will be most useful as a kind of handbook for social workers, law officers and those concerned with social legislation.—EDWIN M. LEMERT.

Neighbourhood and Community: An Enquiry into Social Relationships on Housing Estates in Liverpool and Sheffield. By G. DUNCAN MITCHELL, THOMAS LUPTON, MARK W. HODGES, and CYRIL S. SMITH. Liverpool: The University Press of Liverpool, 1954. 149 pp. 12/6.

Two neighborhood studies have been undertaken with the research staffs at the Universities of Liverpool and Sheffield respectively. They are concerned with the reactions expressed by the inhabitants of two housing projects toward their social life. Neither of the two studies results in a statement coinciding with the hopes of city planners.

Particularly the study applied to a housing

project in Liverpool fails to reveal strong tendencies toward neighborhood cohesion. Somewhat related to conventional class divisions, the population is clearly separated along lines of "respectability." This divides those who want to advance in social prestige and those who have resigned themselves to the inability of doing so. It so happens that the more gregarious of the people in the housing project are reluctant to make use of recreational facilities at the disposal of the community. The people who show a potential of upward social mobility are inclined to segregate themselves from the rest of the people. By these others, in turn, they are looked upon as "stuck-up." Under the circumstances, the housing project does not create neighborhood relations as deemed ideal and intended by the city planners.

In this manner, the study is confronted with aspects of urban personality we like to forget about. People with the best chances for social advancement—in the foreman-group of industrial labor—are least likely to seek their informal associates within the confines of the housing project. They keep to themselves and do not make their leadership qualifications available to the rest of the population in the housing project. As a matter of fact, they could not make these potentialities of leadership felt because they are—in this withdrawn manner—rejected and shunned by the rest of the population.

Empirical studies are greatly lacking in the field of neighborhood planning. For this reason, this somewhat unusual contribution is welcome to all experts.

Studying Your Community. By Ronald L. Warren. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1955. xii, 385 pp. \$3.00.

This is a manual on community study, a successor to Colcord's 1939 Your Community, and withal a broader, better book. Warren is professor of sociology at Alfred University and codirector of an ongoing local area survey. His writing is aimed at the many different lay and professional persons who engage in community study, action, and organization. Chief features are sets of questions meant to direct study work, ranging from 48 on communications to 267 on health. Chapter bibliographies, a list of national agencies, and a very good Index add to the volume's worth. The sale price is commendable, thanks to the Russell Sage Foundation.

The opening chapter tells how to use the book. It serves notice of the manual's dry, factual nature, its objective outlook. The next 15 chapters deal with phases of community: backgrounds, economic life, government, plan-

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ning, housing, education, recreation, religion, health, and so on. There is no particular order observable.-LLOYD ALLEN COOK.

Family, Marriage and Parenthood. Second edition. Edited by Howard Becker and Reuben HILL with the Editorial Assistance of MARGUERITA STEFFENSON. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1955. x, 849 pp. \$6.25.

The well-known text on family sociology has been republished with minor alterations, and it will probably fill the same functions it has in the past. It is aimed both at the sociologist who wants to find a place for the sociology of the family as a field of specialization in the general field of sociology and at students who are interested in the family as an area of practical

The two-fold direction of the text indicates both its strength and its limitations. It will not be used so much in universities which offer courses for the specialist as well as the nonspecialist, but it will be exceedingly valuable where only one course in family sociology is

offered.

The blend of sociological specialization and general practicability is achieved by a large number of separate contributions which are not closely related to each other. Each author writes within a framework of sociological theory, but the same sociological background is not necessarily shared by all these different authors. Some instructors in family sociology will find the text worth while as a reference book even though they do not use it as a text.

This second edition contains three critical discussions of the Kinsey report. While the viewpoints are found elsewhere in the literature, they are thought-provoking contributions.

Grounds for Divorce in European Countries. By ERVIN DOROGHI. New York: Research Division of the New School, 1955. 51 pp. \$1.50.

Sociologists interested in the divorce process will find Doroghi's monograph a handy reference -at least for a short while. European divorce laws change so rapidly that some of them probably will have become obsolete before this review reaches print. Nevertheless, the author has presented students of the family with a much-needed legal perspective of the European

Starting with the divergent premises of the Roman and Canon laws pertaining to divorce, Doroghi-currently a professor of law-traces the development of the various divorce codifications down to modern times. The trend, he says, is unmistakably toward liberalization, a direction which the author himself feels is Good. The bulk of the monograph is then

devoted to listings and interpretations of the grounds for divorce as they currently exist in those European countries which have divorce laws. (Italy, Spain, and Eire do not permit divorce). While there is a fair degree of variation among European countries, in general it can be said that the grounds for divorceadultery, desertion, cruelty, et cetera-are rather similar to those currently authorized in most of our own states. Legal separations have a different connotation. Apparently they are more numerous in Europe, and often seem to be used

as a legal prelude to divorce.

The author's coverage appears to be thorough insofar as the technical legal grounds are concerned. In this connection, most readers will probably welcome the description of divorce litigation in the U.S.S.R. and its satellites. The operational aspects of the divorce court-the judicial winking and legal mockery of the spirit of the law as over against the fulfillment of its letter-is, unfortunately, glossed over. Condonation, connivance, and collusion are mentioned only in passing, while contestation, recrimination, evidential inflation, et cetera, are generally omitted. It would be interesting to know whether these legal slow-balls are as integral to the European divorce "system" as they are over

With regard to the author's socio-legal philosophy, as set forth in the concluding section every man to his own view. Dorghi believes in divorce by mutual consent. He sees no causal connection between the liberalization of divorce laws and increases in the divorce rate. He says, in fact, "Evidence that liberal divorce laws are not detrimental to the institution of marriage as such lies in the high proportion of remarriages by divorced persons" (p. 47). Quite true-most divorcees remarry. But the available statistical evidence indicates that divorced persons who remarry are much more likely, subsequently, to wind up in the divorce court than are those marrying for the first time! Doroghi also believes that it is not up to the court, in a divorce suit, to protect society's interests. "To establish rules for safeguarding the society or public interests is a duty and prerogative of the legislator" (p 49, italics added). To the present writer it would seem that society has a vital stake in the Divorce Suit, and that the court is circumventing its obligation by permitting obvious skulduggery on the part of the legal practitioners. However, Doroghi's sentiments are not on trial. It is his factual assimilation which will be of most interest to sociologists. And in this respect, his work is commendable. He has spared us what would have been months of laborious digging in unfamiliar territory.-WIL-LIAM M. KEPHART.

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Perinatal Mortality in New York City: Responsible Factors. By SCHUYLER G. KOHL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press for the Commonwealth Fund, 1955. xxi, 112 pp. \$2.50.

The research reported in this little book was carried out under very imposing auspices. The Committee on Public Health Relations appointed a "Sub-Committee on Neonatal Mortality" in the Fall of 1949 and charged it with the responsibility of studying the factors responsible for perinatal deaths that occurred in New York City in 1950. Perinatal mortality includes both stillbirths and neonatal deaths.

The original plan of the study was that of selecting 1,000 perinatal deaths subdivided as follows: 250 stillbirths; 500 early neonatal deaths, i.e. those occurring within five days after birth; and 250 neonatal deaths, i.e. those occurring 6-30 days after birth. The actual numbers were 237, 483, and 235 respectively, a total of 955.

The design of the study was that of having some specially qualified physicians evaluate the data given on the death certificates in order to ascertain whether or not the death was "preventable" and which of seven "responsibility (regardless of preventability) were factors" present.

Among the outstanding findings were that 35 per cent of the neonatal deaths were "preventable" and that some of the most frequently present responsibility factors of the preventable deaths were "errors in medical degree," "unsatisfactory pediatric care," "errors in medical technique," and "faulty prenatal care."

An outstanding weakness of the study is the lack of any control group. As the author states at the outset "All data in this study relate to deaths, and there is no comparable information available for the surviving infants" (p. 8). This omission becomes almost exasperating at times. Some sixty seven tables are presented showing how the stillbirths and neonatal deaths were distributed according to certain characteristics. Frequently one does not know whether the given characteristic was subnormally, normally, or abnormally present. In many cases some indication could have been furnished by reference to other studies but this was seldom done.—CLYDE V. KISER.

Sex and Age of International Migrants. Statistics for 1918-1947. United Nations, Population Division, Department of Social Affairs, Population Studies, No. 11 (ST/SOA/ Series A, No. 11), January 1953. viii, 281 pp. \$3.00. (Eng. and French).

A convenient compilation of statistics on sex and age of international migrants for 74 countries or territories for the years prior to the series in the UN Demographic Yearbooks. An introductory text of 18 pp., prepared by Leon E. Truesdell, discusses the importance of migration statistics by sex and age and the scope of this publication, and evaluates the quality and significance of the data.

The Population of Central America (including Mexico), 1950-1980. United Nations, Department of Social Affairs, Population Studies, No. 16 (ST/SOA/ Series A, No. 16), 1954. vi, 84 pp. Seventy cents.

This is the first report of an intended series of future population estimates by sex and age for under-developed areas. The cohort-survival method is used to get an estimate of the population by age and sex for each country for each five year period. Mortality is assumed to decline according to a formula based on the experience of countries for which detailed historical data are available, and a variety of assumptions are used for high, medium and low estimates of fertility. The methods worked out are believed to be appropriate for making internationally comparable projections even for countries with defective statistics. The text explains in detail the methods and assumptions used for the projections, and summarizes very briefly the changes in density and population structure which can be expected under the "medium" assumptions about fertility and disregarding possible migration.

Elements of Immigration Policy. United Nations. Population Division, Department of Social Affairs (ST/SOA/19), 1954. v, 21 pp. Twenty-five cents.

A general discussion of factors which must be considered in formulating immigration policy and in facilitating the integration of immigrants, with chapters on demographic factors, economic factors, health and medical requirements, determination of the status of immigrants as aliens, position of the migrant as worker, and social and cultural integration of immigrants. Being both comprehensive and brief (though lacking illustrations from the experiences of specific countries), this publication is a useful reference for courses in population problems.

Bibliography of Recent Official Demographic Statistics. United Nations, Statistical Office, Department of Economic Affairs, Statistical Papers Series M, No. 18 (ST/STAT/Ser. M/18), March 1954. iv, 80 pp. Eighty cents. (Eng. and French).

A reprint of the revised cumulative bibliography of the 1953 Demographic Yearbook, containing the comprehensive bibliography of the 1949-50 edition plus the new references for 1951-53 to available official publications containing census and other demographic statistics for each area of the world.

Handbook of Population Census Methods. United Nations, Statistical Office, Department of Economic Affairs, Studies in Methods, Series F, No. 5 (ST/STAT/Ser. F/5), June 1954. vii, 143 pp. \$1.50.

A compilation of international recommendations relating to national censuses of 1950 and later, and of tables of definitions and tabulations actually used in censuses prior to 1950. Chapter III, "Planning, Organizations and Administration of a Population Census" (pp. 10-27), which discusses the problems and procedures involved in taking a modern census, is a useful reference for courses in population.

Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility (Volume Four. Further Reports on Hypotheses and Other Data from the Indianapolis Study). Edited by P. K. WHELPTON AND CLYDE V. KISER. New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1954. pp. 801-1086. \$1.00.

This volume contains the following articles reprinted from The Milbank Memorial Fund

Quarterly:

"The Interrelation of Fertility, Fertility Planning, and Ego-Centered Interest in Children" by Marianne DeGraff Swain and Clyde V. Kiser.

"Fear of Pregnancy and Childbirth in Relation to Fertility-Planning Status and Fertility" by Nathalie Schacter and Clyde V. Kiser.

"The Use, Effectiveness, and Acceptability of Methods of Fertility Control" by Charles F. Westoff, Lee F. Herrera and P. K. Whelpton.

"An Empirical Re-Examination and Intercorrelation of Selected Hypothesis Factors" by Charles F. Westoff and Clyde V. Kiser.

"The Interrelation of Fertility, Fertility Planning, and Intergenerational Social Mobility" by John F. Kantner and Clyde V. Kiser.

"Economic Tension and Social Mobility in Relation to Fertility Planning and Size of Planned Family" by Ruth Riemer and Clyde V. Kiser.

"The Relationship of Family Size in Two Successive Generations" by John F. Kantner and Robert G. Potter, Jr.

American Heroes: Myth and Reality. By Marshall W. Fishwick. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1954. xi, 242 pp. \$3.75.

This readable book asks many questions regarding the nature of hero myths and the process by which they are brought about, but wisely refrains from providing a single answer or final truth. It simply asserts that heroes fulfill something inherent in human nature. They personify predominating ideals. Their function is to satisfy emotional and psychological needs and to reflect commonly held hopes and beliefs,

The author is less interested in theory, however, than investigation and reporting. His book is essentially a description of American heroes and, especially, the hero-makers who turn reality into myth. There are special chapters tracing the development of John Smith, George Washington, Daniel Boone, Robert E. Lee, Billy the Kid, and Henry Ford. Numerous other heroes are discussed in chapters involving such stereotypes as The Self Made Man, Villians, and The Cowboy. As for the hero-makers, the author has a good deal to say. We can here mention but a few—Poindexter, Weems, Cooper, Benet, Siringo, Wister, and Disney.

While Fishwick is a de-bunker he fills his role with sympathy, understanding, and good nature. He is neither bitter nor sarcastic. He shows that we can admire and respect a Davy Crockett, not in terms of reality but in terms of the myth created by the Whigs, who made him into a votegetting buffoon, and by the ghost writers of the Crockett Almanacs (1835–56), who after his death made him the master of the cruel frontier world and the snarling beasts that dwelt in it. The yarns about him were conscious inversions of oral traditions taken from the more somber Daniel Boone.

The author does not use the vocabulary or Durkheim, Radcliffe-Brown, Malinowski, or Warner, to name some of the scholars interested in the role of myth, but he communicates many of the same ideas. American heroes are just as much symbols as are Old Glory, the log cabin, and the sky scraper. Society must have its symbols if it is to communicate and maintain its sentiments and values.—William A. Lessa.

The Direction of Human Development: Biological and Social Bases. By M. F. ASHLEY MONTAGU. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955. ix, 404 pp. \$5.00.

Just thirty years ago an anthropologist, George A. Dorsey, published under the Harper imprint a book titled Why We Behave Like Human Beings. It provided a choppy but running account of the findings of physical anthropology, embryology, physiology, endocrinology, and neurology, and the theory of behavioristic psychology. It did not succeed in explaining why men behave like human beings, but it did become one of the biggest non-fiction trade book best sellers of all time. The book under review is

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the latest in a long list of attempts to repeat the Dorsey success. It, too, is by an anthropologist; it is published by Harper; and it fails to live up to the promise of its title. Here, however, the resemblance ends.

Whereas Dorsey sought in the organic mechanics of the human animal the explanation for man's human characteristics, Montagu goes to the opposite pole and finds in an abstraction -love-the explanation of all things human. The book began, he tells us, in 1944 when he was invited to deliver a course of lectures at Harvard on the socialization process. At their conclusion he knew that he had discovered-or perhaps it was a revelation-the key to the understanding of human nature. The final chapter to this discovery eluded him, however, and although he published an interim report (On Being Human) it was not until 1954 that he was able to bring the work to conclusion ". . . now that the book is in the reader's hands," he adds in his Preface, "I almost feel like saying to him: Don't read it."

Now that I have read it, I definitely feel like saying to all sociologists: Do not bother to read it.—RICHARD T. LAPIERE.

Social Anthropology of North American Tribes. Enlarged edition edited by FRED EGGAN. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955. xv, 574 pp. \$7.00.

The first edition of this work which appeared in 1937 was written by seven contributors who were students of A. R. Radcliffe-Brown during his five years at the University of Chicago (1933–1937). The volume consists of essays intended to exemplify the methodological and theoretical views of Radcliffe-Brown.

The tribes studied range from the Klamath to the Apache to the Cherokee; the content of the papers is well-known and requires no additional comment. The 66-page essay by Eggan is perhaps of most interest to modern readers since it constitutes a re-examination of social anthropology after 18 years of appraisal and criticism.

The older anti-historical attitude has obviously greatly weakened and the dispute between historical and functional anthropologists seems to have gone the way of many other scientific controversies. We find here a formal recognition that anthropological studies are not an "either—or" proposition but rather, as with the old environment versus heredity argument, that both points of view have something of importance to contribute.

Since its first appearance this volume has had a great deal of value for those interested in social anthropology; the new material makes the book even more useful and the work will no doubt remain a standard reference.

-CLEMENT W. MEIGHAN

Sociological Perspective: Basic Concepts and Their Application. By ELY CHINOY. New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1954. vi, 58 pp. Eighty-five cents.

Social Planning in America: A Dynamic Interpretation. By Joseph S. Himes. New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1954. ix, 59 pp. Ninety-five cents.

Man in Society: Preface to Sociology and the Social Sciences. By George Simpson. New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1954. vi, 90 pp. Ninety-five cents.

Chinoy has done a remarkably effective job of isolating the basic concepts of sociology, defining them in understandable terms, and giving enough illustrative material to sensitize the reader to a sociological perspective. The definitions seem most influenced by the work of MacIver, Parsons, and Merton, and they are no more eclectric than those found in most introductory texts. Many students will find this a useful "pony," whether it is assigned or not.

In Himes' work on social planning, there is a conscious attempt to emphasize social dynamics. Social change is discussed, categorized, and often evaluated. But this reviewer finds little meat in the stew. Change is more than a description of two points of equilibrium, separated in time. The interactive processes, the conflicts of interest, and the resolution of forces have not yet been sufficiently studied by social scientists. Nevertheless, our state of knowledge is not as bankrupt as indicated in this monograph. For example, it is difficult to see how a lengthy discussion of TVA can concentrate on Lilienthal and Vogt and completely ignore the contribution of Selznick. On the other hand, Himes does a good job of placing social planning in an institutional setting. He correctly emphasizes the crucial role of American values.

Simpson's treatise has three main themes. He clearly and systematically points to the role of values in social science, indicating the points of dispute between Lundberg and himself. In addition, there are lengthy discussions of the place of sociology among the various social sciences and of the different fields within sociology. The material is well organized, but is likely that beginning students would find the many references to the sociological classics both boring and unintelligible. For more advanced sociology majors, this short work is an ideal introduction to a continuing controversy.—Sanford M. Dornbusch.

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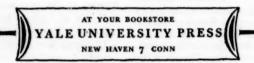
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